

The Classical Review

NOVEMBER 1903.

ON PHAEDO 96A-102A AND ON THE δεύτερος πλοῦς 99D.

THIS well-known passage* in the *Phaedo* possesses an extraordinary and double interest in that it contains the earliest instance in European literature of a mental history traced through its various phases, as well as the first clear, if tentative, statement of the teleological view or ideal. Commentators and historians have accordingly bestowed ample attention upon it: but there remain certain points of obscurity as regards both the inner nexus of thought in the passage itself and its precise relation to the presumably later and certainly more developed treatment of the same subjects in the *Republic*; and these obscurities have given rise to discussions which, in the view of the present writer, are largely at cross purposes, and admit of a more definite solution than has yet been reached.

In this note I shall endeavour to establish: (1) in what sense the δεύτερος πλοῦς of 99D is really a 'second best'; and, closely connected with this question, what is the exact nature of the surrender implied in the words ἐπειδὴ ἀπειρήκη τὰ ὄντα σκοπῶν, *ib.*; (2) that the 'sun in eclipse' of *Phaed.* c. xlviii is not on a par with the ἀναλογία of the sun in *Rep.* Bk. vi, and that to explain the former by the latter only leads to confusion; (3) that the method thereafter introduced is rather an imperfect and tentative version of the higher intellectual method (διαλεκτική) of *Rep.* vi, vii than to be identified with the lower (διδασκαλία), as has been contended by Dr. H. Jackson followed by Mr. Archer-Hind; (4) incidentally, that the passage in *Phaed.* 101D εἰ δέ τις αὐτῆς . . . διαφωνεῖ has been

NO. CLIV. VOL. XVII.

unjustly condemned as an interpolation by the same authorities; (5) again incidentally, that the expression τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀναγοῦσα in *Rep.* 533 c, formerly rejected but now defended by Mr. Adam, can hardly be reconciled with what seems to be the drift of the whole passage, and was probably not what Plato wrote.

(1) The true meaning of δεύτερος πλοῦς in 99D can only be arrived at by a careful consideration of the context, which again is conditioned by the preceding narrative. Socrates had begun (96A) by showing how his early physical investigations (περὶ φύσεως ἱστορία) had only led to darkening counsel (οὕτω σφόδρα ἐτυφλώθη, 96c) and hopeless confusion of thought. He therefore (97B) finally abandoned *this*, i.e. the physical, method of enquiry, but retained a dim notion of another and better method of his own (ἀλλὰ τι' ἄλλον τρόπον αὐτὸς εἰκὴ φύρω). Here we may pause to ask what the latter may be. Jowett (*Introd. to Phaed.* p. 397) doubtfully suggests 'mathematics.' But surely this 'confused notion' is rather a modest anticipation of that very method which is to form the δεύτερος πλοῦς. Note the present tense, φύρω, which, though it may extend into the past, brings the state described into contemporaneity with the narrative.

Next we have, what is really an episode, the 'marvellous hope' excited by the discovery of Anaxagoras's book (96c-98) and his theory of the 'ordering mind,' which seemed to imply design and the principle of 'the best'; the disappointment of that hope

C C

owing to the propounder's inconsistency; and then, once more, the return to the same fantastic 'physical' theories—confusing the true cause with the material condition—from which Socrates had resolved to escape. Since then, he concludes (99 c, d), no one had been able to show him the true cause (τῆς τοιαύτης αἰτίας = the principle of 'the best', τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ δέον συνδεῖν καὶ συνέχειν πάντα) and he could not find it for himself, he will proceed to expound the 'second best' course he has himself devised in his search for the cause.

But here comes the *callida iunctura* of a transition in the argument which may easily lead, and has led, to false antilogies. The difficulty arises from the phrase ἀπειρήκη τὰ ὄντα σκοπεῖν, and may be thus stated: (1) If τὰ ὄντα σκοπεῖν = 'to investigate nature' after the manner of the 'physicists' described above—and this is what is implied in the opposition in this section between λόγοι and πράγματα or ἔργα—is the δεύτερος πλοῦς of λόγοι and ὑποθέσεις then to be considered inferior to physical speculations? Is not this contrary to Platonism, contrary to the previous rejection of τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον (97b), contrary to what follows soon after (100a) οὐ γὰρ πάννυ συγχωρῶ . . . ἔργους? (2) But if τὰ ὄντα = the higher reality, i.e. the ideas, or 'things-in-themselves' as a modern is tempted to say, how then could the philosopher declare that he had 'given up the search' for them ('I had failed in the contemplation of true existence' is Jowett's translation) and then immediately set out to 'seek in discourse the truth of existence,' making his very first hypothesis the existence of the ideas in their most transcendental form? Could this be called a 'second best' course at all?

Such are the difficulties occasioned by this passage, and it can hardly be denied that they are serious, and raise ἀπορίας affecting the most vital parts of Platonic theory. I think it will also appear that the best interpreters have failed to steer clear of one or other of the hidden reefs in the argument. It will tend to clearness if I at once set forth what appears to me to be the ἀσφαλὲς λόγος by following which our course will become (to continue the Socratic metaphor) 'plain sailing.' (1) The passage about Anaxagoras and his doctrine of 'mind' being, as above hinted, in the nature of an episode or parenthesis—because that doctrine led to nothing—it follows that the δεύτερος πλοῦς is 'second best' only to that 'wonderful hope' which Anaxagoras had inspired, and

to nothing else. (2) c. xlviii Ἐδοξε τοῖνυν μοι κ.τ.λ. links back immediately with the point where the narrative had previously been broken off, at 97b, τοῦτον δὲ οὐδαμῇ προσίεμαι. κ. τ. λ. The words ἐπαυθὴ ἀπειρήκη (I adopt the plupf. from Prof. Burnet's text, though I am not prepared to stake much of the argument on this reading) τὰ ὄντα σκοπεῖν must refer to the physical speculations previously described and condemned (as to this and other views of τὰ ὄντα, more anon). (3) Though the δεύτερος πλοῦς is carried on into c. xlviii, and now takes shape as the discursive method (the contemplation of things (the method of the physicists), yet in this context it lays aside its inferiority, its δευτερότης (if the word may be allowed), as Plato himself warns us (100 a οὐ γὰρ πάννυ συγχωρῶ κ.τ.λ.). We need not therefore be puzzled by supposing here any un-Platonic subordination of λόγος to αἰσθησις; the former is no longer a 'second best' but an alternative which turns out to be the better of the two. Νικᾷ δὲ τελευταῖος δραμῶν.

The whole force, then, of the expression δεύτερος πλοῦς is relative to the vision of 'the good' hastily conjured up and as hastily withdrawn by Anaxagoras—'a moment seen, then gone for ever.' In relation to the physical method the discursive is by no means a 'second best'; but Plato sees that such a misconception might arise from the context (as also from his figure of the 'sun' and 'reflections') and is therefore careful to guard against it (100 a). And even in its true application the δεύτερος πλοῦς is only inferior in a qualified sense. Πρὸς ἡμᾶς, as Aristotle would say, it is the best. Here it may be observed that according to its original signification δεύτερος πλοῦς indicates rather a change of *method* than a change of *goal*. Now Anaxagoras had arrived at his doctrine of mind as the regulating principle in the universe only by a flash of intuition; this doctrine had no secure foundations, and was fitfully and inconsistently applied; Socrates's hope of a thorough-going teleology founded upon it was therefore a delusion. A true teleology could only be reached by the μακροτέρα περίοδος of dialectic so much insisted on in the *Republic*; and though to the enthusiast cheated by Anaxagoras into the hope of a speedier and more direct revelation, the 'longer way' seemed for the moment but a 'second best,' yet this 'second best' appears to fall short of the higher dialectic only in that the chain of 'hypotheses' is less clearly and confidently linked to the uncon-

ditioned supremacy of 'the good.' (See the first of Dr. H. Jackson's well-known articles in *J. of Ph.* xix. pp. 137, 149, where, however, though the method of the *Phaedo* is identified with the lower intellectual method of the *Republic*, it is yet maintained that in the former 'the supremacy of the ἀγαθόν is as distinctly asserted as anywhere in the *republic*.')

The view taken above of the δεύτερος πλοῦς is substantially in accord with that of Mr. Archer-Hind (Excursus II to his ed. of *Phaedo*, 1894). As against Prof. Geddes he is right in maintaining that δεύτερος πλοῦς must mean an inferior course, and that it is inferior to the 'great and wondrous hope' of a teleological theory of the universe. But when we come to the τὰ ὄντα σκοπεῖν the plain sense of the whole passage seems entirely in favour of Prof. Geddes and the majority of commentators, who take τὰ ὄντα as = 'phenomena' or 'the external world.' Mr. Archer-Hind, however, having established his first position, and not seeing that, as above contended, the inferiority of the method of λόγοι disappears in c. xlviii, where it is simply opposed to πρὸς τὰ πράγματα βλέπειν, is then led on to identify τὰ ὄντα σκοπεῖν with the πρώτος πλοῦς. What, then, is this πρώτος πλοῦς? Certainly not the investigation of phenomena by means of physical science. On the study of phenomena Plato is perpetually heaping the most contemptuous epithets, etc.' The analogy of the sun, compared with that in the *Republic*, then comes in to confirm the equation τὰ ὄντα = the ideas. I can only say that here Mr. Archer-Hind seems to be out-Platonizing Plato. For, to show that even at the height of his idealism the latter still concedes some kind of οὐσία to phenomena, we have only to refer to *Phaed.* 79A Θῶμεν οὖν βούλει, ἔφη, δύο εἶδη τῶν ὄντων, τὸ μὲν ὁρατόν, τὸ δὲ ἀειδές; It is unnecessary to labour this point further. 'What is matter?' 'In what sense are γινόμενα also ὄντα?' These are questions which are and remain to the end difficulties in the Platonic theory. But we are not here concerned with such problems; for at this stage of the narrative the theory of ideas has ex hypothesi not yet been reached. We are required to put ourselves back into the position of the physicists, or of the 'plain man' of any time or country, for whom undoubtedly 'things,' 'the external world' = 'reality' (whatever other reality there may be). Even the term 'phenomena,' therefore, however difficult it is to avoid it, would be better kept out of

this context. So far, and so far only, am I in agreement with the more guarded language of Dr. H. Jackson (l. c. p. 138 note). 'It would appear that ὄντα generally not ὄντως ὄντα as opposed to γινόμενα, are here contrasted with λόγοι. Hence I am careful not to identify the ἀναλογία of this passage with the ἀναλογία of the sixth book of the *republic*. The commentators with one accord assume that γινόμενα as opposed to ὄντως ὄντα are here contrasted with λόγοι. This limitation seems to me inconsistent with Socrates's narrative of his search for the ἀγαθόν as well as with the parallel passages.' The latter objection has already been abundantly answered above, if it is conceded that the episodic character of the 'search for the ἀγαθόν' cuts it off from any direct bearing on c. xlviii. To sum up once more the view here adopted of τὰ ὄντα (which = πράγματα = ἔργα in this passage): the term must certainly be taken to refer to the material world as the physicists investigated it (see c. xlv. *passim*), i.e. the world as visible, tangible, numerable, etc., but not yet viewed as 'phenomenal' ('noumenal.' Only when we come to the words ἐν ἐκείνῳ σκοπεῖν τῶν ὄντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν does the vision of 'things-in-themselves' begin dimly to suggest itself behind the presentments of sense.

(2) To come now to the figure of the sun. *Passons au déluge*. For here Mr. Archer-Hind (though the suggestive and stimulating character of his writings must be acknowledged by all students of Plato) seems to be steering us into still deeper waters. In condensing his argument, I trust I shall not do it injustice. It comes to this: (1) τὰ ὄντα must = the ideas, because Plato generally speaks with contempt of 'phenomena'; (2) so too 'the sun' must = the ideas, because it does so in *Rep.* 508c, 516a, and to suppose that here the sun = the material world, would be to reverse all Platonic analogies, for 'Thought is always to him the region of truth and light, matter of dimness and uncertainty.' This is true and finely expressed; yet Plato was not therefore bound to ride one metaphor to death; and there is much in this passage which is unique. But to continue: the words μὴ παντάπασι τυφλωθεῖν βλέπων πρὸς τὰ πράγματα τοῖς ὁμασι καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθησέων ἐπιχειρῶν ἀπεισθαί αὐτῶν offer considerable resistance to the theory under criticism, and accordingly we learn that 'though by a certain amount of strain capable...of reasonable explanation, yet for sundry reasons it seemed to me, as it had to

Dr. Jackson, that they were probably due to an interpolator! But a way of adapting them, in the only sense they will bear, to the 'sun-myth' is found in an interpretation suggested by Mr. C. G. Campbell 'by making the eclipse a material part of the similitude,' from which results this parallel:

(1) ἥλιος = τὰ ὄντα, i.e. ideas.

(2) ἥλιος ἐκλείπων = τὰ ὄντα eclipsed in the form of γιγνόμενα, or material nature.

(3) Image of ἥλιος ἐκλείπων in water = image of γιγνόμενα in λόγοι, i.e. Sokratic universals.

'Thus γιγνόμενα are regarded as eclipsed ὄντα, the light of the latter everywhere struggling through the darkness of the former...'

There is more to this effect: and it must be confessed that in this delicate *chiaroscuro* light and shade are so skilfully blended that the most sensitive Platonist can find nothing to offend his susceptibilities. But surely the Platonic sun has indeed dazzled or blinded the interpreters! It seems almost brutal to point out that the foundations for this ingenious structure of interpretation are entirely wanting in the text of the original. Yet such appears to be the case. The words διαφθείρονται ἐνιοὶ τὰ ὅμματα are in themselves conclusive against

the view just given; for they clearly refer to a vision 'blasted by excess of light,' and not to one dimmed by the interposition of obscuring 'phenomena.' A much simpler explanation is forthcoming of the eclipsing of the sun in the figure, namely that it is only when the sun is eclipsed that people are tempted to gaze at it, and doing so become dazzled and blinded, unless they use some medium, whether of smoked glass or of 'reflections.' The latter is the medium here adopted, and it consists in λόγοι, which, by a simile surely not without parallel in the history of philosophy, are said to be 'reflections' of the 'external world' (= the sun), though Plato at once corrects himself by adding that with reference to a higher reality, ἡ ἀλήθεια τῶν ὄντων, discourse is no more a reflection than are material objects. We may conclude, then, that any comparison of the figure of the sun in this passage with the ἀναλογία of the sun in the *Republic* is quite out of place, and only the more dangerous because of a superficial resemblance. * If this explanation is not found to satisfy the requirements of the argument, the burden of proof or disproof surely lies with those who would see καμψότερόν τι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ.

W. J. GOODRICH.

(To be continued)

ARISTOTLE, *NIC. ETHICS*. V. viii. 7. 1135^b 19.

HAVING lately had occasion to study the reference to Aristotle's theory of the Voluntary in the Introduction to Poste's *Gaius* (2nd edn. p. 14), the writer was struck by a fact which is probably not generally known to students of Aristotle. In quoting *Nic. Eth.* v. viii. 7 Poste reads ἡ ἀρχὴ... τῆς ἀγνοίας, without comment, though as well known, the MSS, with the exception of some not first rate ones, which read κακίας, have αἰτίας. Really the exceptions confirm αἰτίας for they probably originated in a gloss, κακίας, to explain αἰτίας which is usually taken in the sense of 'fault.' The emendation is doubtless Poste's own, made *sub silentio*, for he was not the man to conceal an obligation. A few years later the same correction was proposed independently by H. Jackson, and introduced by him,

into the text of his edition of the 5th book of the *Nic. Ethics*. It was accepted by Sussehl (from Jackson) and inserted in the text of his Teubner edn. of the *Ethics*. The expression ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς αἰτίας is difficult and unusual, while the emendation yields an excellent and natural sense: yet the corruption of a reading so easy and appropriate into one so hard and so unusual has never been satisfactorily accounted for. Those who keep the MS text generally seem to explain αἰτία as 'fault' or 'blame' (= guilty act). But recently Mr. J. A. Smith, of Balliol College, has discovered a passage in the *Μηχανικά* which, one must venture to think, is decisive in favour of αἰτίας and also shews that the word here does not mean 'guilty act.' The place is as follows (847^b 16),—πάντων δὲ τῶν τοιούτων

(i.e. the paradoxes of the lever) ἔχει τῆς αἰτίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ κύκλος. Here αἰτίας could not be replaced by ἀγνοίας. One may suggest that ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς αἰτίας is equivalent to 'ultimate cause.' The meaning is very appropriate to the passage in the 'Mechanics,' as the context shews, and it is very appropriate here in the Ethics. For Aristotle is thinking of cases where,

though the agent does not know what he is doing, the act cannot be said to be ultimately due to ignorance, because the ignorance is due to some fault in the man himself, for instance drunkenness or negligence, and the act therefore itself is ultimately due to this same cause.

J. COOK WILSON.

OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI, VOL. III. NO. 464.

THE astrological epigrams whose remains appear upon pp. 123-5 of Messrs Grenfell and Hunt's third volume are not only fragmentary but corrupt; very corrupt, if the editors have deciphered them aright.¹ But in several places they can be restored with probability or even certainty.

l. 6.

[.]κα ἀλλων δούλους τουσδε νοει ξ. [

See Manetho i 345 ἐκ δούλων δούλους τουσδε νοει ξυνέσει. In l. 3 the papyrus has τερεσει forming the end of a verse, the rest of which is lost: Man. i 342 is δούλους ποιήσει καὶ γονέων στερέσει. The neighbouring fragments however do not coincide with Manetho.

ll. 12-16.

περι βρεφους ζην. [
 αὐταρ ἐπὶν Φαέθων καὶ φως[.....]στ[.....]
 νῆ Δία κηελιος τουτον ἰδωσι τ[οκ]ον ζων
 καί[.....] . ον
 λεγομεν τοδε των δε φαίλων
 αλλοτριων οντων κριτ' τον[.]φοιτοθελ[.....]

The editors rightly supply ζῆν [μέλλοντος] in the title and κρείττον [ἐ]φν in the last line, but their other suggestions are beside the mark. Write

αὐτὰρ ἐπὶν Φαέθων καὶ Φωσ[φόρο]ς ἢ[δὲ]
 σελήνῃ]
 νῆ Δία κηέλιος τοῦτον ἰδωσι τ[όπο]ν,
 ζῶν καί[ρονόμ]ον λέγομεν τόδε των δέ <τε>
 φαύλων
 ἀλλοτριῶν ὄντων κρείσσον [ἐ]φν τὸ θέ[μα].

The last Δ is probably only the first half of M. 'If Jupiter and Venus and the moon

and sun aspect this place, we pronounce this sign of the zodiac advantageous. If the malefic planets are inconjunct, the geniture is better.' τοῦτον τόπον, like τόδε κέντρον in l. 18, is the horoscope or eastern point, which is ὁ πρῶτος τῶν δώδεκα τόπων. ἰδωσι signifies that the planets are either opposite or trine or quadrate, or perhaps sextile, to the horoscope. ζῶν τόδε means what Manetho vi 27 calls ὥρης ζῶν, iii 389 ζῶν . . . ὠρονόμοι, i 262 ζῶδιον ὠρονόμοι, that sign of the zodiac in which the horoscope happens to be. The φαῦλοι, called κακοί in l. 18 and ἄλοοι in l. 23, are Mars and Saturn, Man. iii 362 φαύλοις τε καὶ ἐσθλοῖς ἀστράσι, 117 φαύλησιν δ' αἰγαῖς ὁλοῶν βεβλημένος ἀστρων. If a planet, or anything else, is so placed that it cannot enter into the scheme of nativity, that is to say if its aspect is neither opposite nor trine nor quadrate nor even sextile, it is termed ἀσύνδετον: this title has several synonyms, as Paul. Alex. fol. E ἀπόστροφα ἦτοι ἀσύνδετα, E 2 ἀστέρες . . . ἀσύμφωνοι, Heph. Theb. i 11 ἀσύνδετα καὶ ἀπηλλοτριωμένα, Firm. math. ii 23 l' auersa ab horoscopo et quodam modo aliena'; and here we find ἀλλοτριῶν in the same sense. θέμα is the whole scheme of nativity, Man. i 348 εὐτυχὲς ἐκ γενεῆς ἔξαιτε τοῦτο θέμα. When the malefics are thus unrelated to the horoscope they are powerless to thwart the benefics, and this improves the geniture: we shall come to a similar clause at l. 20, where I will say more.

I have no confidence in καί[ρονόμ]ον, but I would not propose anything like ζῶν καὶ [τρόφιμον] λέγομεν τόδε (Maxim. καταρχ. 217 ὥδινα ζωοῖσιν ἐπὶ βρεφέεσσι λύεσθαι, Paul. Alex. L 2 ζώσιμον καὶ τρέφειμον τὸ γεννώμενον ἔσται); for it seems impossible that τόδε should signify τὸ τότε γεννώμενον βρέφος, and ζῶν λ' ἐγόμεν is not good sense.

¹ 'Unfortunately the papyrus is both broken and rubbed, and the difficulties of decipherment are increased by the character of the hand, an irregular sloping semi-uncial of about the end of the third century, and by the badness of the Greek.' Edd. p. 123.

11. 20, 21.

και μηδεις α[.] . μα
τοιοιτ ειστ δοια[.] εκβολιμον τε και ω[

This is an epigram *περί βρέφους ἀχρήστου* (see Man. i 49 *στειρώδεις γὰρ ἴασιν ἀχρήα τ' ὠδίνουσιν*): similarly Ptolemy tetr. iii pp. 32 sq. ed. Camerar. and Hephaestion ii 10 discourse *περί ἀτρόφων*, Firm. math. vii 1 contains 'expositorum uel non nutritorum geniturae,' and Manetho in vi 19—111 is occupied *ἀμφὶ τροφῆς βρεφῶν ἢ δ' ἀτροφῆς ἀλεγυῆς*. The epigram begins *εἰ δὲ κακοὶ τόδε[ε] κέ[ν]τρον ἐπικρατέοντες . . .*: then follow two broken lines of which I can make nothing; then the passage printed above, which should be restored

καὶ μηδεὶς ἀ[γαθῶν σχῆ]μα τοιοῦτ' ἐσίδει,
ἀ[τρόφον] ἐκβόλμινόν τε καὶ . . .

. . . 'and if none of the benefic planets aspects such a configuration, then incapable of nurture and abortive and' . . . See l. 50 *σχῆμα σὺ τοῦτο νόει*, Man. iv 80 *ὁ φῶς ἐν σχήματι τοίω*, iii 253 *εἰ μὴ πως εὐεργὸς ὄρωσῃ σχήματα ταῦτα*, Paul. Alex. O 3 *εἰ μὴ θεωρεῖται τὸ σχῆμα ὑπὸ τινος τῶν κακοποιῶν*, Ptol. tetr. iii p. 32 *μηδενὸς μὲν ἀγαθοποιῶν σχηματιζομένου . . . τὸ γεννόμενον οὐ τραφῆσεται*. The meaning is the same as if he had said *τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀλλοτριῶν (ἀσυνδέτων) ὄντων*. One synonym of *ἀσύνδετος* is *ἄβλεπτος* (Firm. ii 23 7); and a planet placed out of relation to a point is called *ἀμάρτυρος* (Man. vi 236 *εἰ κ' ἀγαθοὶ σφιν ἀμάρτυροι ἀστέρες εἴεν*), and the point unrelated to the planet is said to be *ἀκατόπτευτος* (Paul. Alex. N 4 *ἐπ' ἀντὶ τῆς τῶν κακοποιῶν ἀκτίνος ἀκατόπτευτος τύχη*, O 2 *τόποι . . . ἀκατόπτευτοι Κρόνου καὶ Ἀρεως*). Genitures somewhat resembling this of ll. 18—22 occur in Man. vi 95 sqq. *ὥρην | ὀππὸτ' ἂν ἐσθλοδῶται μὲν ἀποστρεφθέντες ἴωσιν | οἱ δ' ὅλοοι λείσσωσι, τὸτ' ἐκθετα τέκνα γονῆς | ῥίπτουσ' ἐς βαθὺ κύμα βορῆν τ' ἔμην οἰωνοῦσιν*, Firm. vii 1 'si uero ambae maleuolae stellae ita sint constitutae ut uicinis lunae lateribus adhaerescant, nec aliquod eis beneuolarum stellarum testimonium accedat, is, qui natus fuerit, statim cum matre pariter interibit'; and Manetho vi 99—107 has a geniture something like ll. 13—16 of the papyrus.

1. 31.

φαίνων ηστ[

Apparently *Φαίνων ἢ Στ[ῆλβων]*, Saturn or Mercury.

11. 37, 38.

[εἰ] δε μιν Ὠρον ομνε[. . .] . σκρ . [
[σ]τοναχας εν ναιοτητι[. .]ει κι . [

In l. 26 also the editors print *και παλιγ Ὠρον ομω* [and remark 'cf. l. 37, where Horus apparently recurs; but the context is equally obscure.' But *ωρον* followed by *ομ* in an astrological context has no obscurity: write in l. 26 *καὶ πάλιν ὠρονόμω* or *ὠρονομῶ[ν]*, and in ll. 37 sq. something like this:

[εἰ] δέ μιν ὠρονομέυ[ση "Αρ]ης Κρ[όνου] ἀντίον ἐστώς]

[ἄζοντα σ]τοναχὰς ἐν νεότητι [νό]ει.

See Man. iii 244 sq. *"Αρης . . . ἀθρήσας . . . Κρόνον . . . κακὸς κακοῦ ἀντίον ἐστώς*, i 356 *λύπας γὰρ στοναχὰς τε βλαβὰς τ' ἄξει μερόπεσιν*, which last verse is strangely accented by Manetho's editors.

1. 45.

νον μαρτυρει ης μετοχ[

Probably

[.] Κρό[νου] μαρτυρήης μετόχ[ου].

That is *εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ Φαίνων τοῖσιν συμμάρτυρος εἴη*, Man. vi 393. In l. 58 of the papyrus we have *εἰ δ' ἀστὴρ ἀγαθὸς μάρτυς φαίν . . .*

11. 51—56.

[βρ]εφον[ς

εἰ δ' οὕτως τουτων[. . .]τασα[

δωσει πλην αβεβαιοταται τοιγαρ τ[

αφ[ε]κεσθαι εμβρνον εκεκοτε ηστ[

φάος ἴδεν ακηριον εσχε και αντ . [

εθηκε τοτε

The drift of the passage may probably be recovered as follows.

εἰ δ' οὕτως τουτων [βλάσ]τας "Α[ρης] ἐσ-
αθρήσῃ]

[ἐλπίδας οὐ] δώσει πλην ἀβεβαιοτάτας.

τοιγάρ τ[οι] λοχή, δέκατον πρὶν μῆν']

ἀφ[ε]κέσθαι,

ἔμβρνον ἐκ σκοτῆς ἐξέβαλεν θαλάμης],

[τέκνον δ', εἰ] φάος εἶδεν, ἀκήριον ἔσχε . . .

The aorists are gnomic. See Aesch. Eum. 665 *σκότοισι νηδύος*, sept. 664 *φυγόντα μητρόθεν σκότον*. A. E. HOUSMAN.

UNCIAL OR UNCINAL?

'The *Uncial* hand from meaning originally letters an inch (*uncia*) long, came to be used for a kind in which all the letters are still capital, except that A, D, E, H, M, Q, have become Δ, Δ, Ε, Η, Μ, Q.' So says Mr. Falconer Madan at page 26 of his *Books in Manuscript* (1893);—surely a marvellous derivation, if true. More cautiously Sir Edward Maunde Thompson says at page 117 of his *Handbook of Greek and Roman Palaeography* (1893), 'the term "uncial" first appears in St. Jerome's Preface to the Book of Job, and is there applied to Latin letters, "uncialibus, ut uulgo aiunt, litteris,"

but the derivation of the word is not decided; we know, however, that it refers to the alphabet of curved forms.'

Has it never been suggested that 'uncialibus' of the Hieronymic MSS. is due to a mis-reading or rather perhaps to a mis-writing of 'uncialibus' i.e. 'uncinalibus'? The word 'uncinalis' is not in Lexicons; but it seems correctly formed from 'uncinus' (adjective and substantive) from 'uncus' (adjective and substantive), so as to mean 'hooked' or 'curved,'—like 'uicinalis' from 'uicinus' from 'uicus.'

SAMUEL ALLEN.

NOTES.

TERNIO OBSERVATIONUNCULARUM IN MYTHOGRAPHIS GRAECIS CRITICARUM.—Nuper dum Parthenium et Antoninum Liberalem alterius causa studi percurro, pauca etiam post Sakolowski Martinique labores, corrigenda mihi occurrerant.

I. In Ant. Lib. xxxi (p. 111 Teubner) pro ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τούτου τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπέπλεον Δαόνιοι quorum verborum certam medicinam editor doctissimus se invenisse negat lege, sis, τῆς θαλάσσης (id est, litoris vel orae maritimae, ut passim) ἐπέιχον (quod potius videtur quam ἐνεμον quod aliter conici poterat) ἐπὶ πλέον. De ἐπέιχον cf. Thuc. i. 50 § 1 ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπεχουσάν, ii. 101 § 5: de ἐπὶ πλέον cf. Ant. Lib. xxxi (p. 112) ubi codex ἐπιπλέον sed supra i acc. grav. eras.

II. In Ant. Lib. xli (p. 126) pro ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφιτρώωνος ἰόντος ἰδεῖσθαι Καδμείων ἐπὶ Τηλεβόας αὐτῷ συστρατεύσας, legendum εἰ. Ἀμφιτρώων Κρέοντος ἑδ. K. (gen. partitiv.) κ.τ.λ.

III. In Parth. xv (p. 29) lege πυκνὰς κύνας.

T. NICKLIN.

AN ITALIAN PARALLEL TO SOPH. Ant. 904.—Mr. L. D. Barnett's note in the *Classical Review* of May on a Persian parallel to Antigone 904 ff. reminds me of an Italian story in which the primitive philosophy of the preference for brother over husband or son is explained in the same way as by Antigone. This anecdote is to be found in 'Il Fuggilozio' of Tomaso Costo (Venetia 1604, p. 522). In the time of Alfonso I. of Aragon a poor woman whose husband, son, and brother were all in prison, begged the king that he would release one of them to aid her in her poverty and desolation. The king granted her request and bade her choose. She selected the brother. The king then asked her reason for the selection. 'Rispos' ella, che di marito, morto che le fusse l'uno potea prendersi l'altro, e così far de gli altri figliuoli; ma che di fratelli non c'era rimedio da poterne più havere.' On this the king, pleased with her 'savva risposta' liberated all three. This does not appear to be a classical reminiscence.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

Manchester.

REVIEWS.

BOVET'S DIEU DE PLATON.

Le Dieu de Platon, par PIERRE BOVET, (Kündig, Genève, 1902). 4.50 fr.

'ENTRE les écrits du platonisme moyen et les cinq derniers dialogues, une transformation profonde s'est produite dans la pensée de Platon, au point de vue de la

théologie, comme à celui de la psychologie et de la logique' (p. 138). 'Dans les derniers dialogues les idées ne sont plus les substances réelles existant, en dehors des objets individuels et de tout esprit pensant, dans une région transcendante,—ce sont les notions de l'âme du philosophe rendues

parfaites par le travail dialectique,' etc. (p. 131). These extracts may suffice to indicate the standpoint from which M. Bovet approaches his theme. His main conclusions will be evident from the following: 'la divinité, qui a une place dans la pensée de Platon, n'en a point dans sa théorie des idées, c'est-à-dire dans sa philosophie' (p. 76). 'C'est ici, dans ces derniers écrits de Platon, que pour la première fois, chez un philosophe grec, l'idée de Dieu se trouve rattachée à une théorie du monde et invoquée pour l'explication de cette théorie' (p. 139). From this it may be seen that M. Bovet is an adherent of Lutoslawski's system of interpretation; and his object is, in short, to do for Plato's theology what the Polish scholar did for the 'logic.' The truth of the system he practically assumes, on the strength of its endorsement by Weil and Gomperz, without further attempt at verification. His main argument falls into two parts, the first dealing with the 'dialogues of Ideas,' the second with the later dialogues (as fixed in Lutoslawski's chronological scheme). In attempting to establish in the former part his negative conclusion that God has no place in the earlier phase of Platonism, M. Bovet naturally finds occasion to controvert a number of rival theories. First, he examines M. Couturat's view that 'omnia deorum dicta factaque mythica sunt,' which would make of the 'gods' merely another name for the 'ideas.' This is Teichmüllerism over again, and the arguments brought to support it are not wholly convincing. On the other hand, to say that it makes of Plato an atheist is scarcely a valid objection. Having disposed of M. Couturat, the writer proceeds

to criticize the theories of various other interpreters as to the relation in which God stands to the Ideas in middle Platonism. Zeller's identification of God with the supreme Idea; Fouillée's notion that the lower ideas should be regarded as immanent determinations of God; Stallbaum's account of the ideas as the thoughts of Divine intelligence; Brochard's theory that for Plato the Idea dominates God just as, for Greek religious thought, Destiny dominates Zeus, —all these interpretations M. Bovet reviews successively and rejects. None of them can be proved, he argues, for the Platonism of the 'Republic' period; and to ground them on texts drawn from any of the later dialogues is, he contends, a wholly illegitimate procedure.

M. Bovet writes clearly and states his points well; but it does not appear that he has made any valuable contribution to our knowledge of Plato's philosophical development in the present thesis. Perhaps his most original suggestion is that Plato's later theology was in some degree influenced by the writings of Xenophon, —a suggestion based on the fact that the 'Theaetetus' may be supposed to synchronize with the 'Memorabilia.' Unfortunately this piece of originality is not of a kind well calculated to impress his readers with a sense of his capacity for interpreting Plato. His sarcastic reference (p. 52) to those who attempt, like Bayrhammer and Fouillée, to explain Plato by a method 'qui consiste à éluder tous les problèmes par la synthèse des solutions contraires,' sounds somewhat more reassuring, and seems to promise independent thought. But is not that, too, a leaf from the book of M. Lutoslawski?

R. G. BURY.

FAY'S *MOSTELLARIA* OF PLAUTUS.

T. Macci Plauti Mostellaria: with Introduction and Notes by EDWIN W. FAY, Professor of Latin in the University of Texas. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1902. Pp. xlvii, 157.

If the teacher chooses to play the sophist, the young student may be led to believe that the works of Plautus are faultless in metre and meaning throughout. But since Plautus comes comparatively late in Latin studies, the editor had better be frank, and let his readers know that the text of

Plautus defies systematic emendation, and that much of his meaning is lost to us. Professor Fay has taken the former course. For all that he says about manuscripts or variations of reading, his text might be copied straight from the playwright's autograph. If we accept his principles of prosody and metre, and keep an eye on his marks of quantity, every line of the play may be persuaded to scan. His commentary gives an explanation of everything, with few hints of doubt.

In the introductory paragraphs on

prosody and metre the most noteworthy thing is the frequent and undoubting application of the law of the *brevis breuians* to trisyllabic words of which the last syllable is elided. Line 73 is marked thus:

uenire id quod molēste est quā illud quod
cupide petas.

Similarly *olēre* in 42, which is commonly regarded as a third declension form, is here treated as a second declension form with shortening of the second vowel. On the other hand the *brevis breuians* might have saved Professor Fay from scanning *dierecte* as three syllables in line 8.

Hiatus is very freely used. In 6 *malum* is left unelided, though *clamatiost* might safely have been corrected to *clamitatiostr*. In 152-3, however, where hiatus may be excused by the slow enumeration, Professor Fay rejects this device, and gives us trochees followed by cretics in the same line.

His preface tells us that the text is based on the *editio minor* of Goetz and Schoell. In one place at least his imitation of this excellent model has gone too far, for he reproduces the note of interrogation which Goetz and Schoell, or rather their printers, have placed at the end of 364. But his allegiance is not usually so strict. Some of his sweeping changes will deserve the attention of subsequent editors: but there

is not much to be said for *eri filium*, which Plautus would have expressed by *erilem filium*, in 21; and in 1113 *numquam edepol hodie di med inuitum destinant tibi* is not near enough to the reading of the manuscripts, or good enough in point of sense, to justify the irregular ending. These two specimens may suffice.

The editor's explanatory comments are not less open to criticism. For example, he connects the name *Tranio* (1) with *τετραίνο*, (2) with *Picus*, the Roman prophet-king, (3) with *pica*. Thus 667, which might seem a simple statement of purpose, is spoken by *Tranio* 'qua prophet. Similar is Mark's Gospel, xiii. 11.' Similar! Again, *caedere* does not mean 'peck at,' 'devour': but if it means that in 65, 'we have here a further allusion to *Tranio-picus*.' Leaving these etymological puns, we may observe that *deputeo* (146) is a non-existent word, and rightly so; and that *opprobriarier* in 301, in spite of 302, cannot mean 'to be accounted to me for good.'

These few remarks may indicate the faults of the book. Its merits are brightness and clearness, fertility in suggestion, a wealth of 'modern instances' (from Browning, Kipling, Lillian Bell, and some others), and a persevering endeavour, which does not always overreach itself, to get at the author's drift.

E. H.

OWEN'S PERSIUS AND JUVENAL.

A Persi Flacci et D. Iuui Iuuenalis saturae. cum additamentis Bodleianis recognouit breuique adnotatione critica instruxit S. G. OWEN, Aedis Christi alumnus. Oxford, Clarendon Press. No date, no pagination. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d., 3s., and 4s.

THIS edition of Persius and Juvenal is certainly the handiest in existence. The paper and binding are good, the print is excellently clear, the notes, by the omission of unimportant variants, are rendered not only briefer than Mr Buecheler's but plainer and easier to use, and the whole is executed with sufficient accuracy of detail. I have only noticed faults or omissions in the text at Pers. v 87, Iuu. vi 132, xii 72, and in the notes at Pers. vi 7, Iuu. i 21, iii 187, iv 99, vi 73, vii 177, 204, xiii 65.

Persius is not difficult to edit. The two

authorities which preserve him, P on the one hand and AB on the other, are both exceedingly corrupt, yet each so well repairs the deficiencies of its rival that emendation is hardly required. Even recension is no troublesome or dangerous business; for where the two witnesses dissent it mostly happens that either the one or the other is unmistakably wrong; and in some places where the choice is doubtful it matters next to nothing how we choose, because both alternatives are good and even equally good. Accordingly one editor's text of Persius will not differ materially from another's, and Mr Owen's departures from Mr Buecheler's edition of 1893 are neither numerous nor important. Some of them are in the right direction, iii 48 and 107-9 and v 73-5 for instance, where Mr Owen reverts to an older and better punctuation, and i 92 *sqq.*,

where he improves matters by giving 92-97 to one speaker, Persius' antagonist, and making 96 sq. a censure of Virgil's style: I do not agree however that 99-102 should be assigned to this same disputant; I take 98-106 to be Persius' derisive retort. But other changes are changes for the worse, and most of these are due to a single cause. There is a strange notion abroad in the world that close adherence to one MS or family of MSS is scientific. It was lately the fashion among editors of Persius to overestimate AB: Mr J. Bieger in a dissertation published in 1890 set the example of underestimating them, and of overestimating P; and Mr Buecheler in his edition of 1893 proceeded as far in this direction as his intelligence would allow. Mr Owen proceeds a trifle further. v 83 sq. 'an quisquam est alius liber, nisi ducere uitam | cui licet ut libuit' AB, uoluit P: 'in definitione libertatis' says Mr Buecheler 'gnari facile intellegent ut libuit rectius ferri quam ut uoluit.' But what Mr Owen easily perceives is that uoluit is the reading of P; and he adopts it, though the next words are 'licet ut uolo uiuere,' not 'ut uolui.' iii 15-18 'o miser inque dies ultra miser, hucine rerum | uenimus? a, cur non potius teneroque columbo | et similis regum pueris pappare minutum | poscis?' AB: aut P, and so Mr Owen; yet the conjunction cannot mean anything. iii 44-46 'saepe oculos, memini, tangebam paruus oliuo, | grandia si nollem morituri uerba Catonis | discere' AB: morituro . . . Catoni dicere P and Mr Owen. But what boys hate is not so much saying their lessons as learning them; and the learning rather than the saying of lessons is hindered by sore eyes: so *discere* is better than *dicere*. 'grandia morituri uerba Catonis' means, as the scholiast interprets, 'Catonis deliberatiuum,' the lofty soliloquy of Cato meditating death; 'morituro uerba Catoni dicere' will apparently signify a *suasoria* (counselling suicide, I suppose, else *grandia* is inapposite) addressed to Cato in his last hours: but this is no occasion for a *suasoria*. v 8 *Procnas* AB, *Progenes* P, whence Mr Owen elicits *Progenes*: 'cf. Iuuenal. vi 644, nos prolegg. ad Ouid. Trist. p. cv,' where I find the following note, '*Progne* non *Procnas* (v l 60): uide Horatium A.P. 187 ed. Kelleri; Iuuenal. vi 644 ed. Buecheleri; Martial. xi 18 19 ed. Friedlaenderi.' Now the best and oldest Latin MSS which contain this name are the Medicean and Roman and Palatine of Virgil at Georg. iv 15, and they spell it *Procnas*. But we can ascend far beyond Virgil's MSS and lay our hands on

evidence far better than the spelling of any MS whatsoever: we know that Ovid at met. vi 468 wrote 'ad mandata *Procnas*' and Petronius at 131 'atque urbana *Procnas*.' Yet almost all their MSS give *Progne* and *Progenes* in defiance of metre, and teach us what to think of this form when we find it elsewhere in the poets.

Mr Owen says in his preface that the MS tradition 'conectoris arte nusquam eget,' but he records in his notes some eight or nine conjectures. The only certain emendation ever made in the text of Persius, Madvig's *articulis* for *auriculis* at i 23, he ignores; though space might well have been found for it by omitting Heinrich's *uetulum* for *ue tuum* at iii 29 or Dr Reid's *bulgam* for *rugam* at vi 79, both of which are based on misapprehensions and injure or destroy the sense. At v 134 'rogas? en saperdas aduehe Ponto,' when Mr Owen writes 'correpto *rogas* more Plautino,' this is an attack upon the MSS, not a defence of them. Plautine scansion is shunned by poets who write hexameters, even by Ennius; and it is shunned by poets of the first century after Christ, even by Phaedrus. If Persius wrote *rogas*, he imitated the colloquial speech of his contemporaries, not the versification of antique comedy.

Editing Juvenal is a graver undertaking, for not only is emendation necessary but the choice among MS variants demands much tact and circumspection. Juvenal's MSS, it is well known, are of two classes. One consists of the single codex Pithoeanus, P; the other of all other MSS, *o*. This second family descends from an archetype originally much resembling P but overlaid with interpolation; and all its representatives display the two elements combined in varying proportions. P is far superior to the whole pack of them, but it has plenty of corruptions from which the archetype of the other class was free; and in these cases the true reading is found in the inferior family, sometimes in all or most of its members, sometimes only in one or two. To collate the several hundred extant MSS and to sift from their innumerable corruptions the scattered fragments of original truth which some few of them contain would be a work of vast labour and only slight utility; but until it is done our apparatus criticus is defective. The Oxford MS brought to light by Mr Winstedt, apart from its new page of the sixth satire, preserves about half-a-dozen of such remnants. First and foremost it presents at xv 75 the conjecture of

Mercurius *praestant instantibus Ombis*, at vii 130 it has Jahn's *Tongili* and at vi 561 and xv 145 Mr Buecheler's *longe* and *pariendis*, which four readings Mr Owen accepts without mentioning the critics who discovered them; at ii 45 its '*faciunt nam plura*' is much better than the *hi* of other MSS, and at iv 148 its '*ex diuersis partibus*' (et P, om. plerique) is probably right; at xii 93 Mr Owen does not record that in common with Mr Hosius' *Leidensis* it offers '*neu suspecta tibi sint haec, Coruine, Catullus . . . tres habet heredes*,' which is evidently true: Lachmann had already conjectured *ne* for the *nec* of the other MSS. I have found, and published elsewhere, a few such traces in a fifteenth century MS of the British Museum, Burn. 192. Mr Owen has examined one MS at Cambridge, two at Milan, and ten at Venice;¹ but these have yielded nothing new and true (though the Cambridge MS confirms the *ue* of Oxon. at vi 13 and the *leuauit* of Priscian at xiv 83), and his fitful citations of their variants only encumber his notes. Thus on the first page there are two excerpts from Ambr. R, *tantum auditor for auditor tantum*, which involves a false quantity, and *sille dedimus* for *dedimus Sullae*, which deserves no notice; and at viii 5 and 7 and 90 the Venetian MSS, which are hardly mentioned elsewhere, suddenly burst into view for no apparent reason and overflow half-a-dozen lines of the apparatus criticus. The removal of these superfluities would leave room for the repair of defects: it should be stated that *o* have *atque* for the second *nemo* at vi 442 and *celebrare* for *scelerare* at ix 25; at x 254 their reading '*quaerit ab omni, | quisquis adest, socio*,' which Mr Owen ignores, ought probably to stand not only in the note but in the text. The *socius* of P appears to be a mere accommodation to *quisquis*, just as at xi 85, '*accedente noua, si quam dabat hostia, carne*,' the *carnem* of P¹ and Oxon. and Cant. and several other MSS, which Mr Owen, like Jahn and Buecheler and Friedlaender, inconsistently rejects, is probably a mere accommodation to *si quam dabat*.²

¹ I do not know if he has himself consulted also Monac. 408, but I observe that at ix 150 he cites it as having *efugit*, which I conjectured in 1891 (C. R. v. p. 295), while Mr Hosius gives its reading as *efugit*.

² In speaking of excess and defect I may add that Mr Owen ignores Hirschfeld's transposition of i 127—31, which ought to be mentioned, and mentions the conjectures *laccernatus* at i 62 and *tergo* at iii 281, which ought to be ignored. Markland's capital emendation of v 137, '*uos estis frater*,'

The lazy habit of preferring P to other MSS even where its readings are inferior to theirs is now not only in fashion but in honour; and I spend no words on the passages where Mr Owen merely follows in the steps of his contemporaries: xiv 215 *sq.* for instance, where we are grown familiar with this wretched spectacle—

parcendum est teneris, nondum impleuere
medullas:
naturae mala nequitia est,—

in lieu of the admirable sentence which our fathers saw there and our sons will see there again. I notice rather that in two places at least he has shaken off this inertness, and that he does not read with Mr Buecheler '*angusta Caprearum in rupe*' at x 93 (Scaliger already knew this lection and condemned it) nor '*illa | ire uia peragant*' at xiv 122. But to regain the ground thus lost and earn the praise which is always ready for those who can tolerate what no one ever tolerated before ('Mr — has greatly improved the text by a closer adherence to the best MS' runs the formula) he elsewhere adopts from P corruptions at which even Mr Buecheler has recoiled: in vi 73 the hapless poet is condemned to write '*soluitur his magno comœdis fibula*,' because the scribe has failed in his attempt to scratch out the *s* and conceal it from Mr Owen; in vi 120 the reading *et*, which makes sense, is ousted for *sed*, which makes nonsense ('uirum linquebat . . . *sed* intrauit lupanar'); though I half expect to hear that *sed* is similarly used at v 147 etc.); in x 327, because P has *hesse* or the like instead of *et se*, we are offered this pretty piece of writing: '*erubuit nempe haec ceu fastidita repulsa, | nec Stheneboea minus quam Cressa excaudit; hae se | concussere ambae*,' *haec* meaning Phaedra opposed to Stheneboea, and *hae* meaning Stheneboea and Phaedra together. Yet Mr Owen has still left something to be done, or suffered shall I say, by future critics of superior insensibility. He can feel, for instance, that at xiii 208 the '*has patitur poenas peccandi sola uoluntas*' of other MSS is right and that the *sacra uoluptas* of P is wrong. But probably there are people in the world who cannot feel it; and if one of these worthies edits Juvenal to-morrow he will be congratulated on having produced a text as much purer than Mr Owen's as Mr Owen's is purer than Mr Buecheler's. In this race it is neither the hare nor the tortoise that wins, but the limpet.

proposed at Stat. silu. p. 73, seems to have escaped all editors of Juvenal.

Mr Owen has proposed about two dozen conjectures of his own. Fifteen of these appear only in the footnotes, so I will say nothing about them except in the one case where I can say something favourable: *quoquoque* for *quocumque* at viii 27 removes an almost insufferable asyndeton. Then we come to his alterations of the text.

ix 14 was well emended by Salmasius, 'Bruttia praestabat calidi tibi fascia uisci'. *tibi* and *cir* are abbreviated much alike, so P has *circum*; the vulgar MSS have reduced this to metre by addition and subtraction, 'praestabat calidi *circumlita* fascia uisci'. Mr Owen neglects *circum*, which is in all MSS, and adopts *lita*, which is only in the worse MSS, and is useless: 'Bruttia praestabat calidi *lita* fascia uisci'.

At xiv 229 he writes 'nam quisquis magni census praecepit amorem, | et laeum monitu pueros producit auaros, | et qui per fraudes patrimonia *conduplicauit* (*conduplicari* MSS), | dat libertatem' etc. This smooths the construction, but it impairs the sense: Juvenal's point is that avarice, unlike other vices, is taught not merely by example but by precept; and the whole context is concerned with the crimes which are fostered by lessons, not patterns, of cupidity (224 sq. 'haec ego numquam mandavi . . . nec talia suasi').

These two are not so very injurious; but as for the rest, they set one marvelling what Mr Owen supposes emendation to mean. The defective verse x 54 has had many remedies applied to it, the best of which is Mr Buecheler's 'ergo superuacua aut <quae> perniciose petuntur? | propter quae fas est genua incernere deorum?'. But Mr Owen apparently is not content to repair the metre unless he can simultaneously damage the meaning, and he kills his two birds with this one stone: 'ergo superuacua aut <prope> perniciose petuntur, | propter quae fas est genua incernere deorum'. *prope* perniciose! Seianus, Crassus, Pompeius, Demosthenes, Cicero, *prope* perierunt! And unless the reader is much cleverer than I am he cannot guess what the general sense of the distich is intended to be, so let us turn to the translation: 'it results then that the things for which it is our lot to pray to the gods are useless or well-nigh injurious.' As if it were our *lot* to pray to the gods for anything whatsoever; and as if Juvenal could write a satire to chide mankind for their *lot*.

vii 222 'dummodo non pereat mediae quod noctis *ab hora* | sedisti, qua nemo faber, qua nemo sederet | qui docet obliquo

lanam deducere ferro'. So all editors hitherto, and the sense is as plain as a pike-staff: schools began work at an unearthly hour of the morning, Mart. ix 68 1-4, 'ludi scelerate magister, . . . nondum cristati rupere silentia galli, | murmurare iam saeuo uerberibusque tonas'. But P happens to have *ab oram* (with the last letter expunged), and Mr Owen writes *ad horam*. Where are we now? Why does the schoolmaster sit up till midnight, when all the boys are fast asleep in bed? why does he select for his solitary vigil a place 'qua nemo faber . . . sederet'? and why does he expect to be paid for indulging this singular caprice?

viii 241 'tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi | nominis ac tituli, quantum *in* Leucade, quantum | Thessaliae campis Octavius abstulit udo | caedibus adsiduus gladio'. *in* is very like *ui*, and if *ui* gave any tolerable sense it would have been conjectured long ago; but Mr Owen is the first editor of Juvenal to imagine that *ui* could mean 'in war'.

vi 473 'sed quae mutatis inducitur atque fouetur | tot medicaminibus coctaeque siliginis offas | *accipit et madidae, facies* dicetur an ulcus?' This is the vigorous and pointed sentence preserved in almost all the MSS and printed as a matter of course by all the editors. P exhibits *accipite facies madidae*. This MS has long had plenty of partisans, anxious to exalt it even at the expense of Juvenal; but only Mr Owen has possessed the *robur et aes triplex circa pectus* required for proposing this conjecture: 'coctaeque siliginis offas | *accipit, haec facies madida est*, dicetur an ulcus?' It ruins one clause by subtracting *madidae*, it ruins the other by adding *madida*; it destroys something which was perfect, it creates something which no man of letters could pen.

vi 614. Valla here quotes three verses, omitted by most MSS, which seemingly form an alternative reading to u. 615. Mr Owen has torn this fragment in two, mixed the pieces with the text, and stirred the whole into this bewildering jumble,—

tamen hoc tolerabile, si non	
semper aquam portes rimosa ad dolia,	
semper	614 ^a
istud onus subeas ipsis manantibus	
urnis,	614 ^b
et furere incipias ut auunculus ille	
Neronis,	615
cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia	
pulli	

infudit. quae non faciet quod principis
uxor,
quom rabadum nostro Phalarim de rege
dedisti? 617*

in which *ipsis* means nothing at all, *dedisti* is addressed to nobody, and the general sense, as explained by Mr Owen C.R. xvi p. 408, is worthy of Nero's maternal uncle: 'the administration of philtres to her husband by the wife would be enduring if it did not finally produce mania, as for example the hallucination that he is engaged like a Danaid in filling sieves with water.'

vi 197 Mr Owen punctuates thus, 'quod enim non excitet inguen | uox blanda et nequam? digitos habet, ut tamen omnes subsident pinnae, dicas haec mollius Haemo quamquam et Carpophoro: facies tua computat annos', and says 'ut tamen distinxi ut praecedentibus adhaereat cf. Mart. ix 37'—this reference has no bearing on the point—'antea segregabant'. Et postea segregabunt. Two other changes of punctuation, at vi 511 and xiv 141, inflict less injury, but they have nothing to recommend them. In short, the single novelty in the text which seems worth considering is the adoption at x 170 of the form *Gyarac*, presented by many MSS and recurring in Pliny. With this exception Mr Owen's innovations, so far as I can see, have only one merit, which certainly, in view of their character, is a merit of some magnitude: they are few.

It is natural that the author of these conjectures should not be easily offended by faults of diction or defects of sense. The satires of Juvenal, as handed down in the MSS, contain a number of stupid verses, repeating in a tame or obvious manner what has been said in pointed or allusive language a moment before, and sometimes even quitting the satirist's theme and snapping the thread of his argument. Many eminent critics in the past have held that these verses were more probably inserted by readers and copyists than by the eloquent and epigrammatic Juvenal, and have bracketed them as spurious. Mr Buecheler in his edition of 1886 removed all the brackets, but he recorded in his notes the judgment and the names of those scholars by whom the several lines had been condemned. Mr Owen, melior magistro discipulus, has suppressed even these, ut Ajax praeteriit Telamonem, ut Pelea uicit Achilles; and a reader whose familiarity with Latin literature does not warn him of anything amiss may now peruse his Juvenal

undisturbed by the suspicions of connoisseurs. Perhaps at first it seems a trifle presumptuous in Mr Owen thus to ignore the opinions of editors like Heinrich, C. F. Hermann, and Jahn, and of critics like Bentley, Markland, Dobree, and Lachmann; but I suppose his confidence is explained by the motto on the first page of his book: DOMINVS ILLVMINATIO MEA.

The Oxford fragment of the sixth satire¹ is included in this edition; it is printed, where the MS presents it, after u. 365, and uu. 346–8, as Mr M. Maas recommended, are deleted. At the end of his preface Mr Owen discusses the question how this fragment comes to be preserved in the Oxford MS alone: an interesting question, though not, as Messrs Owen and Winterfeld endeavour to make it, an important one; for the genuineness of the verses does not depend on our success or failure in guessing what lucky accident has saved them. Mr Owen begins by saying that he, immediately on the discovery of the fragment (C.R. xiii. p. 267, June 1899), con-

¹ At u. 6 of this fragment the note runs '*colocyntha* (i. q. *σούδα*)...*barbata chelidon* (i. q. Socraticus cinaedus ii 10) scripsi Housmanno obtemperans'. If Mr Owen chooses to tax Roman householders with the incomprehensible vagary of maintaining Socratici cinaedi in their establishments, that is his own concern; but I wish he would not represent it as a concession to me, who explain *barbata chelidon* very differently indeed (C. R. xiii p. 266).

I cannot always be writing papers on this precious relic of antiquity, so I use this opportunity to make two remarks on Mr H. L. Wilson's article in the American Journal of Philology xxii pp. 268–82, which he has been good enough to send me. In u. 1, where some think *quacumque* indefinite (= *qualibet*), I think it relative; because otherwise the construction is disjointed and the sense is untrue. Mr Wilson objects 'but *quicumque* is never relative in Juvenal after prepositions except viii 60'. I do not dwell on the fact that Mr Wilson has overlooked viii 134 'de quocumque uoles proanum tibi sumito libro', because I much doubt whether this verse is Juvenal's: I only comment on the singular argument that an author who uses a construction once is not likely to use it twice.

At u. 24 'in teneris haerebit dextera lumbis' Mr Wilson says that notwithstanding my positive assertion '*teneris* h. d. *lumbis* (*ipsius* of course)' he still believes *teneris* to mean *tenerorum*: this inclination, he says, 'regularly indicated indifference to women'. I do not ask Mr Wilson to quote a single passage which supports this statement; I only invite him to emend away the hundreds of passages which contradict it, beginning, say, with Hor. serm. ii 3 325. He adds 'otherwise we lose the point of the passage, viz. the attempt on the part of the *obscenus* to conceal from the husband his real character.' The truth is just the contrary: between *φιλοπαῖδια* and *φιλογυνῖα* the Romans saw no incongruity at all, but they did see incongruity between τὸ πόσχειν and τὸ δρᾶν.

jectured that a page of about 30 verses had dropped out of the archetype; and that Mr Winterfeld recently (Goett. gel. Anz. November 1899, pp. 895 sqq.) has embraced his opinion. This is not the case. Mr Owen's conjecture was that a page of 34 verses (the fragment has 34) had dropped out: Mr Winterfeld, not in November 1899 but on June 24th (Berl. phil. Woch. p. 793), when the *Classical Review* (published on June 7th) had not come into his hands, conjectured the loss of a page of 29 verses (34 minus 5, uu. 30-34 being the remnant out of which 346-348 were fabricated), and remarked that both P and the Aarau fragments have 29 verses to the page. Mr Owen however has now abandoned his opinion: 'sed iam uereor ut (he means 'ne') haec ratio parum prosit. nam cum O totiens cum familia ω congruat, aliquotiens cum P, cur, si archetypi folium periit, O solus omissa reposuit?' Mr Winterfeld answered this question long before it was asked (Goett. gel. Anz. l.c.): he supposes that O was copied from a MS of the ordinary ω type, but that it was copied in a library (probably Italian, for O, unlike most of Juvenal's MSS, is Langobardic) containing an ancient MS in which the verses were still extant; and that the scribe, having this book at his elbow, observed the additional paragraph and incorporated it in his text. Mr Owen does not argue against this hypothesis, but deals with it in a much shorter way; he denies that it has ever been propounded: 'id nemo edocuit, securis omnibus et cardinem ignorantibus, in quo tota quaestio uersatur'. So now let us hear the theory of Mr Owen, who does not share this universal heedlessness and ignorance of the main point: 'una solum uia, si quid uideo, nodus expediri potest. equidem censeo in codice Oxoniensi strui triualem Iuuenalis textum, qualis ante Nicaeum lectitabatur: uersus Canonicianos suapte ingenio ita expulisse Nicaeum ut ultimis quinque in tres redactis, tres uersus sic contractos post 345 poneret, liquidumque orationis flumen interrumperet. igitur . . . fragmenta loco quo leguntur in codice inserui. sic spinoso agro purgata rudera; reddita Iuuenali lux. nam quibus nostram dispositionem concinnioem, ueternosam Nicaei indicabit'. *quis iudicabit*: then why did Nicaeus judge otherwise? Because he was a monstrum ex machina: Providence, suborned by Mr Owen, deprived Nicaeus of ordinary human

intelligence, and caused him to behave as follows. He struck out, simply in Mr Owen's interests, a whole paragraph described by Mr Owen himself as 'uerba plena indignationis irae uigoris acerbis'; in order to baffle those who were not in the secret he ejected exactly 29 verses, foreseeing that P and the Aarau fragments would have pages of that size: this was highly inconvenient, because it forced him to break a sentence in two, but his anxiety to oblige Mr Owen and throw Mr Winterfeld off the scent carried him over all difficulties: he rewrote the verse which he had mutilated, struck out two more in a pure ecstasy of benevolence, transported what was left into an inappropriate context twenty lines away, and then laid down his pen in the full assurance that nobody but his employer would ever detect what he had been doing. And this obsequious madman is the editor who framed our text of Juvenal: not merely ω 's text, but P's. One is therefore relieved to hear from Mr Owen that O is a 'recensio ceteris omnibus antiquior planeque singularis' and exhibits a text of Juvenal 'qualis ante Nicaeum lectitabatur' (though strange to say it contains the verses vi 346-8, which according to Mr Owen are Nicaeus' composition). Of course then he makes O the base of his own recension, and deeply distrusts the other MSS, ravaged as they needs must be by the industrious idiocy of Nicaeus, whose true character he has just unveiled. Oh no, not a bit of it: he clings tenaciously to P, and very seldom indeed does he prefer the peculiar readings of O. And quite right too, for O is not what Mr Owen says it is: O, except in those verses which it alone contains, is nothing but a MS of the ω family; and Mr Owen throughout his edition acts upon the assumption that this view (Mr Winterfeld's) is true and that his own view is false. When he says 'iam tandem liquet cur Oxoniensis aliquotiens cum Pithoano, saepius cum ceteris consentiat', he has forgotten that this is no peculiarity of O's but appears in every single MS of the ω class which has yet been collated.

If theories of this sort are to be published at all, which is highly undesirable, it is best not to preface them with comments on the *securitas* and the *ignorantia* of other folk, who do not publish such theories.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

HILL'S ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCHOOL CLASSICS.

Illustrations of School Classics. Arranged and described by G. F. HILL, M.A. Macmillan: London and New York, 1903. Pp. x., 503. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d. With 29 coloured plates and numerous illustrations.

Mr. HILL has been well advised to collect in a volume of fairly handy compass the illustrations which have appeared in the little text-books of 'Elementary Classics' published by Messrs. Macmillan. The name of the author is a sufficient guarantee for the trustworthiness of the illustrations and descriptions. The book consists of 462 pages of text; 17 pages of Bibliography, which should be most useful to teachers desirous of extending their knowledge of Greek and Roman life; and an index of 23 pages. Of the 462 pages of text 195 are devoted to Religion and Mythology, 69 to History (would there were more), 151 to Antiquities, 34 to Buildings, Cities, and Countries, 7 to Maps (these might well be omitted in a book of this kind), and 16 to 'the Barbarians.' Assyrians, Persians, Egyptians, Etruscans, and Gauls are summarily treated of in these last 16 pages. Would that we knew more of them; recent Histories of Mankind are teaching us to sympathise more with these despised 'lesser breeds without the law.'

It is to be feared that the circulation of this admirable book will not be large. It is too big and expensive for schoolboys generally, except for those in the highest forms: but it ought to be in all school- and house-libraries, every classical teacher ought to possess it, work at it, and use it, and it would be a handsome school prize. Perhaps it should be considered as specially adapted to teachers, and may be best regarded from this point of view.

Experts, like Mr. Hill, cannot too often be reminded that the schoolmaster has to be taught. The average schoolmaster is a man of little leisure, he is not a specialist, but assuming his willingness to be always widening his knowledge—and if he is not willing, he has mistaken his calling—it is to the guidance of experts that he must look. He will find great help in this volume, but in some points he will with reason look for more, and if a second edition is reached before very long, which is much to be desired, it is to be hoped that Mr. Hill will supply such help. For instance

the busy and comparatively uninstructed teacher will not always be able to answer the inquisitive pupils' questions concerning the letters of the alphabet in the inscriptions on vases, etc., e.g., 10, 109, 122, 134, 238 (a most interesting specimen). Sometimes, on the other hand, most helpful guidance is given, as in 176, 239, 376. Perhaps a short paragraph on the alphabets, or a reference to an accessible book, would meet the case. The date and *provenance* of the object described are generally, but not always, given, e.g., 18, 23, 72, 382. The explanations as a rule are most useful, e.g., 28, 117, but now and again the teacher, like Oliver Twist, will ask for more, e.g. 41, (Vediovis or Veiovis), 44, 57, 36 (a word or two might be said about the Ionic Chiton, the Doric Chiton, the Exomis), 19 (why has Zeus Ammon ram's horns?) and so on.

It may appear ungrateful to pick out small points; but the aim of the writer, and the execution of the work are as a rule so good that he would certainly desire to withhold no reasonable assistance in furthering the one object to be achieved, that of teaching the teacher, and through the teacher the taught.

But to turn from criticism to praise, some sections may be commended as singularly interesting, e.g. 250 (the Carthaginian tetradrachm of the fourth century), 251 (the figure of Ahura-mazda), 359 (the women's apartments and the life of women), 376 (the Scene at an Inn. Some objects will seem quaint and inadequate to the modern schoolboy's eye, and perhaps reasonably so; others will appear comical, and he will probably feel contempt for the hoop-driving (394), and the ball-playing (395). But he must be a Philistine indeed if he cannot appreciate the beauty of many of the illustrations, e.g., of the noble busts and statues from 309 onward (how Pompey the Great reminds one of Mommsen's disparaging description!); he will understand his text-books Greek and Latin ever so much better, by examining the illustrations of Homer which are given at 499–501, of Vergil at 37 (the Grynean Apollo, *Ec.* vi.), 298 (Columna Rostrata, *Georg.* iii. 29), 381 (the pastoral scene, *Georg.* iii. 327), of Horace at 303 (the looked for return of Augustus, *Od.* iv. 2), 308 (apotheosis of Augustus drinking nectar with empurpled lip, *Od.* iii. 3). On almost every page he will come across some presentment of Greek and Roman life, the market,

the inn, the sea-side villa, spinning, hunting, shipping, the counting-house, books and writing materials, and so forth. Such touches make 'the whole world kin.' We feel that we are dealing with men, women, and children, who worked, played, worshipped, hoped, feared, wept, and laughed like ourselves.

Books like this make the study of the classics human; they may well appeal to the more 'general reader.' Indeed the reviewer confesses that more than once he has put it in his pocket, though somewhat bulky, for enjoyment on a railway journey.

F. E. THOMPSON.

SOME RECENT ELEMENTARY LATIN BOOKS.

Ora Maritima. A Latin Story for Beginners, with Grammar and Exercises. By E. A. SONNENSCHN, D.Litt., Oxon., Professor of Latin and Greek in the University of Birmingham. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1902. Pp. x, 157. 23 Illustrations. 2s.

The Fables of Orbilius. By A. D. GODLEY, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. London: Edward Arnold. 1902. Part I. (Third Edition). Pp. 56. 16 Illustrations. 9d. Part II. Pp. 59. 16 Illustrations. 1s.

Dent's First Latin Book. By HAROLD W. ATKINSON, of Rossall School,¹ and J. W. E. PEARCE, Head Master of Merton Court School, Sidecup. With twelve coloured illustrations by M. E. DURHAM. London: J. M. Dent & Co. 1902. 2s. 6d. net. Pp. xxiii, 328.

A First Latin Reader. By R. A. A. BERESFORD, M.A., Head Master of Iydgate House Preparatory School. With sixty-seven illustrations. London: Blackie & Son. 1902 (reprint). Pp. 100. 1s. 6d.

Latin Elegiacs and Prosody Rhymes for Beginners. By C. H. ST. L. RUSSELL, M.A., Assistant Master at Clifton College. London: Macmillan and Co. New York: the Macmillan Company. 1902. Pp. vi, 134. 1s. 6d.

A First Latin Course. By E. H. SCOTT, B.A., and FRANK JONES, B.A., Assistant Masters, King Edward's School, Aston, Birmingham. London: Blackie & Son. 1902. Pp. 148. 1s. 6d. No illustrations.

Latin Picture Stories: Being a new method of teaching Composition. Edited by W. H. S. JONES, M.A., the Perse School, Cambridge. The Norland Press, Shaldon, S. Devon. London: 298 Regent Street, W. 1903. 1s.

¹ Mr. Atkinson is now a Head Master in South Africa.

Pro Patria. A Latin Story for Beginners: being a sequel to *Ora Maritima*. With Grammar and Exercises. Same author and publishers as no. 1. 1903. Pp. x, 181. 2s. 6d.

[*Cornelius Nepos*. Twenty Lives. Edited by JOHN EDMUND BARSS, Latin Master in the Hotchkiss School. New York: the Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1900. Pp. xiv, 316. 5s.]

THE four First Latin books in our list have each some merit of their own and give welcome proof that some of the fundamental principles of elementary instruction are at last to be applied to the teaching of Latin. They deal with the concrete side of life and matters likely to interest the young and they have the advantage of being illustrated. The framework of Prof. Sonnenschein's *Ora Maritima* is narrative—a series of sketches in easy Latin of family life at the seaside. Accidence and elementary syntax are worked in along with the translation by means of exercises skilfully and, to judge from some actual experience, felicitously constructed. The book may be confidently recommended to teachers.

Since the above was written Prof. Sonnenschein's *Pro Patria* has come into my hands. 'The first part' says the author 'is taken up with a study of Roman Britain in connexion with a visit to Richborough Castle: the second with the Boer war.' I must content myself with drawing attention to this book, which it may be hoped will prove as useful as its predecessor. Upon two points, however, I should like here to register my doubts. Prof. Sonnenschein has 'ventured on some novelties in the realm of grammar teaching' amongst which is the term 'Injunctive' used to express the fundamental meaning of the subjunctive as the mood of *desire*. I am sceptical of the value of all novelties in

grammatical terminology for elementary teaching, and I am certain that we want no more epithets in *-tiae* heaped upon a long-suffering mood. Secondly, I should like to have chapter and verse for using *res publicae* (plur.) of the Boer or any other republics.

Mr. Godley's *Fables* are a reader only. Of its two Parts the second is the better: and might I think be used soon after the *Ora Maritima*. The simple sentences of Part I hardly bring out Mr. Godley's powers, and in point of difficulty there is too much difference between the two parts for a learner to pass straight from one to the other. The 'Fables' are anecdotes, chiefly and perhaps (for boys at least) too prevalently of a humorous character. They are told, as we should expect, in correct and elegant Latin (a most important point); and the protean forms of the subordinate clause and oratio obliqua are introduced and dwelt on with unobtrusive skill. In one case Mr. Godley has attempted the impossible. The point of the 'chestnut' about the Prussian Monarch and the recruit, to whom he put his three questions in the wrong order, turns on an ambiguity in the gender of *both* which cannot be rendered in direct discourse in Latin, since *ambo* is not a synonym of *uterque*.

Messrs. Atkinson's and Pearce's book is not so easy to estimate; for an adequate judgment a prolonged trial would be required. It is on an ampler scale than either of the two preceding, and Miss Durham's coloured pictures are more attractive than anything of the sort which they contain. It too appeals to the concrete side of life: not however the life which lies about us but that of the ancient world. The authors draw the material of their extracts and exercises from classics like Horace, Catullus, the younger Pliny, and Petronius. This has the advantage of bringing at once before the beginner the reality of the classics, but it is probably better that at the first he should not be taken beyond the field where ancient and modern meet. The book is well planned; but for a first one it is perhaps a little hard and too closely packed with information. The stress which it lays upon a correct pronunciation is entirely praiseworthy, and as a whole it deserves the careful consideration of teachers.

The scenes described in Mr. Beresford's *First Latin Reader* are both liberally and judiciously illustrated from ancient and modern sources, and their prevailingly martial character will appeal to the taste of the schoolboy. Mr. Beresford's pieces

NO. CLIV. VOL. XVII.

'with a few exceptions which have been taken or adapted from Latin authors are original, the sources being mainly classical.' His Latinity is generally correct, but there are slips here and there: 'portator' (for 'portitor' text and vocabulary) 'eum Pharsaliae superavit' p. 55 for 'apud Pharsaliam' or 'Palaepharsali' and p. 32 'Ego pro coena (*sic*) curro, ille tamen pro vita,' a sentence fitly placed in the mouth of a *canis*. And this leads me to repeat a remark which I have made elsewhere that when the practical schoolmaster puts out Latin or Greek of his own, he should first submit his compositions to the most fastidious scholar of his acquaintance.

Mr. Russell's *Latin Elegiacs and Prosody Rhymes* embodies a good idea. The 'non-sense verses' of, let us hope, the past were a device which lent too much colour to the charge that teaching classics had little to do with sense. Mr. Russell by coupling the words of Ovidian or quasi-Ovidian lines to a translation shows the pupil that he has been set to a task which has a meaning and schools him without detection in the construing of Latin poetry as well as in the composing of Latin verse. The introduction is on the whole full and clear enough. But the statement 'A short vowel at the end of one word cannot stand before two consonants at the beginning of the next,' etc., will cause trouble to the young, who cannot be expected to check a rule on p. 5 by a rule on p. 10. The *Prosody Rhymes* (pp. 9-13) are seemingly a versifying of the rules in the *New Latin Primer* (pp. 199, 200). Of the few deviations still fewer are improvements: certainly not *Gaius* (p. 10), *vēr* (p. 11) or the verses on p. 12—:

Compounds of *ēs*, *penēs* and Noms.¹ in *es*
Which have short stems in *-ēt*-, *-īd*-, *-ūd*-,
as *pēs* :

But *abiēs*, *ariēs*, *pariēs*, Long will be,
Though in the genitive they have Short *e*.

The *N. L. P.* has § 447 'es is short in (a) *penēs* and compounds of *ēs* thou art: (b) *N. Sing. 3rd Decl.*, with Gen in *-ētis*, *-ītis*, *-ūdīs* except *ariēs*, *abiēs*, *pariēs*.' The quantity of *pēs* Mr. Russell must settle with Ovid (e.g. *Amores* 3. 1. 8). Personally I regard *Prosody Rhymes* as unnecessary evils. And Mr. Russell's practice of marking no quantities presupposes the use of a *gradus* or dictionary from which the requisite information can be gained.

¹ This would rhyme with *Toms*.

Mr. Russell's prosody rules lead me to speak of what is the most serious educational defect in the books that we have been considering—their insufficient recognition of quantity. This is closely connected with the two worst faults of the British educator—his rooted and unreasoning antipathy to change and his unwillingness to take any trouble about details which do not interest him. Mr. Beresford and Mr. Godley in Part I, do not mark a single quantity either in text or vocabulary. In Part II. Mr. Godley does more, marking the majority of the root and stem vowels in the word lists at the head of the extracts but not in the text or the vocabulary. The printer we may suppose is to blame for *biduum*, *experimentum*, *iter*. Prof. Sonnenschein marks the long vowels systematically, except in the consecutive text. Messrs. Atkinson and Pearce mark long and short vowels, but on what principle I have not been able to discover.

For all this inconsistency in practice there is no reason whatever. If the object of marking quantity in Latin words is to enable us to read these words correctly (and what else should it be?) then it must be marked constantly and uniformly until the learner can dispense with this aid. Let the compilers of elementary school books take the trouble, (and what is done as a matter of course in America is not too much to ask for in England), to mark all long vowels whether in closed syllables or not, wherever they occur in text or vocabulary; and let the teacher take the trouble to insist that these marks are attended to: and false quantities will disappear from the land. The false quantity is impossible to those who have only heard the true. There is at present another reason for introducing this practice. Many of the teachers of Latin in this country have a very insufficient knowledge of quantity, and they also want all the help they can get. I grieve to write this, but I must: *amicus Orbilius, amica Orbilia: sed magis amica ueritas*.

The question of spelling is an allied one though of less importance. Those who copy mis-spellings into elementary books are probably not aware how much useless discomfort their default inflicts upon wholly innocent persons. Prof. Sonnenschein's spelling is, as we might anticipate, correct; and 'lagena' is the only mistake that I have noticed in Messrs. Atkinson and Pearce. Mr. Godley is generally right; yet he has 'solutium' and 'poenitet.' He dis-

tinguishes *cum* conjunction and preposition, a distinction useful in an elementary book, by means of the barbarous and now generally discarded *quum*. He could have obtained the same result by using *quom* of the Republican age or the *qum* of the age of Quintilian (Inst. 1. 7. 5). Amongst Mr. Beresford's mis-spellings are 'coena,' 'conditio,' 'coniu,' 'epistola,' 'sepimentum' (but 'saepio' correctly). Mr. Russell has the most lapses: 'thura,' 'conditio,' 'uaenire,' 'annulus,' and even 'coelum' and 'coelestis.'

Messrs. Scott and Jones' *First Latin Course* is not illustrated; but in most other respects it deserves to be praised. It consists of 'a series of reading and grammatical lessons; corresponding English-Latin exercises; a short grammar, vocabularies, and lists of words for practice.' It is clear and practical in its plan and arrangement, the sections (capita) seem to be of the right length and properly graduated in difficulty, the importance of pronunciation is recognised; in a word it appears to be a very 'teachable' book. In one respect a change is desirable. The medieval 'proverbs' should be eliminated. They are not wanted, and a schoolbook should only teach classical Latin.

Mr. W. H. S. Jones' *Latin Picture Stories* came into my hands after the rest of these notices were written. He describes them as 'a series of twelve cards, each having six illustrations, with short sentences in Latin as keys to the stories depicted. The object of these cards is to afford practice in composition which cannot degenerate into a merely mechanical finding of Latin equivalents for English words and phrases. Such exercises are meant to supplement and not supersede translation. The pictures are suitable for more forms than one, since the story may be told in more or less simple language.' I take the third as a specimen. Its subject is the death of Milo the Athlete. Sc. 1, Milo iter faciens, 2. Milo looking at the tree, *Possunne?* 3. *experiar certe*, 4. *Fortis senex*, 5. *Captus*, 6. *exitus miserandus*. Other subjects are Horatius at the Bridge, The Saving of the Capitol, The Landing of the Romans. In these stories which may be made a peg for teaching Latin *viva voce* Mr. Jones has hit upon a good idea and one that should be useful to teachers. But some of these are certain to ask for fuller directions, and Mr. Jones will do well to give as soon as possible an example of the best way of using his stories in class. Mr. Jones also marks no quantities.

In conclusion I would refer to a book

which though not quite recent nor as elementary as those noticed above contains so much to exemplify and enforce what I have been saying that I am loth to pass it over, Mr. Barss's *Cornelius Nepos*, with exercises and vocabulary, well printed and pleasingly illustrated. The quantities are marked consistently and correctly both in text and vocabulary. The exercises in translation from English to Latin are based on the excellent principle of giving no Latin equivalents for the English words and so

forcing the learner to use the text of the *Life* which he has just translated, where with a little trouble he will find all that he wants. Another excellent feature is the section called 'Word-Groups' where the memory is helped by the arrangement of obviously cognate words under one common head. The only suggestion I can offer to Mr. Barss is that he should add citations from English Latin grammars to those from American ones.

J. P. POSTGATE.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Xenophontis Cynegeticus. Recensuit GINUS PIERLEONI. Berolini apud Weidmannos. MCMII. vii. 98. 3 mk.

Like the other volumes, it has a complete verbal index.

THE new texts of the *De Re Equestri* and the *Hipparchicus* were noticed in this *Review* not long ago. The *Cynegeticus* is another of the same series. A Viennese and a Vatican MS., both little (if at all) known previously, are the foundation of Mr. Pierleoni's text. *Ut mire inter se consentiunt, ita a ceterorum librorum scriptura longe abhorrent . . . Neque cuiquam dubium erit . . . quin hi duo codices soli textum genuinum et antiquitatis aerugine nobilem nobis tradiderint*. It is in the first chapter, which contains several strange things and for more than one reason lies under special suspicion, that we find much the most marked difference. Some passages in it are quite transformed by the Vienna MS. (the Vatican unluckily wants the first leaf), but I do not know that any light is thrown on the problem of authorship, though it is curious that it should be Chapter I which is so changed. In § 3 the suggestions I made here (12.383) to omit καί and add τᾶσι are confirmed. In this connexion I may remark that the editor does not seem to have seen my notes on the *Cynegeticus* and that they are not the only contributions which have escaped him. In 8.1, where I pointed out that ὅταν μὲν ἐπιτίθη makes no sense and proposed μή for μὲν, van Leeuwen in *Mnemosyne* very shortly after or just at the same time suggested ὅταν μὲν ἐπιτίθη, which I gladly recognise as better; but Mr. Pierleoni seems unconscious of the difficulty and unaware of either suggestion for removing it. In these matters his text leaves a good deal to be desired, but for the evidence of the MSS. it is indispensable.

Problems in Greek Syntax. By BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE. Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins Press. (Reprint) 1903.

To appreciate this book a man must himself be a bit of a grammarian; but, the more his knowledge of Greek grammar, the more he will appreciate it and the more in many cases he will learn from it. He must indeed be no mere dry-as-dust grammarian, if he is to appreciate it thoroughly. In the first place Mr. Gildersleeve writes in his own characteristic style, which is not that of the ordinary grammar. Secondly, the problems he propounds are those of what he calls moral and aesthetic syntax: in other words he tries to connect the variations in the phenomena of syntax with the variations in the writers and departments of literature that exhibit them. Taking such points as the omission of the copula, the development of the uses of the infinitive, the relations of subjunctive and optative, the employment of cases, tenses, final conjunctions, negatives, he has many subtle remarks to make, often very forcibly expressed, and in their nature such as could come only from an acute mind remarkably well stored with the results of long, wide, and minute observation. The theme throughout is the connection of grammar with style, and any competent scholar who cares to approach Greek from this point of view will find these pages, all too brief as they are, singularly instructive. As was implied above, they are not easy reading, and they are not intended for the everyday scholar.

The genuine scholar will set a high value on them.

H. RICHARDS.

Spicilegium Tragicum: Observationes criticae in Tragicos poetas Graecos continens. Scripsit F. H. M. BLAYDES, M.A. Oxon. Halis Saxorum. 1902. Pp. 263. 6 mk.

This 'farrago' of 'observationes' will not add to Dr. Blaydes' reputation. The notes are, for the most part, ill-digested, and jejune to a degree. Moreover, many of them are repeated from his 'Adversaria Critica'; and there are numerous minor errors and contradictions as well. A great number of the emendations proposed have either been anticipated by other scholars, or by Dr. Blaydes himself. Occasionally a fresh interpretation is forthcoming, e.g. on *Agam.* 365, 1045; *Oed. Col.* 35 where, discarding the *τῶν ἀδελφῶν φράσαι* of the MSS (*ὧν* Elmsley) Dr. Blaydes proposes, in place of his former conjecture *ταῦθ' ἃ μὴ ἔισμεν φράσαι*, the following: *ἄστ' (ἄ'στ') ἀδελ' ἡμῶν φράσαι*.

An examination of his emendations upon a single play, the *Hercules Furens*, shows that Dr. Blaydes has already, in his 'Adversaria in Euripidem,' printed about three-quarters of the notes that now appear in the 'Spicilegium.' Is this quite fair to his readers? The book appears to have been put together without much regard for order or selection. No doubt there are useful notes scattered up and down the book that would be quite sufficient to demonstrate the immensity of Dr. Blaydes' erudition, had such demonstration been necessary. What we regret is that this book should have been allowed to appear at all in its present haphazard condition.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art. With a Critical Text and Translation of the Poetics. By S. H. BUTCHER. Third Edition. Macmillan & Co. 1902. Pp. xxxvii, 418. 12s. net.

THIS is the third edition of Prof. Butcher's *Poetics* noticed in the *Classical Review* in the last eight years, a signal proof of the correctness of Mr. H. Richard's forecast when reviewing the first edition that it would 'be indispensable to all who wish thoroughly to

master Aristotle's theory of the drama and the epic in relation to art and life' (*C.R.*, 1895 p. 214) and a welcome indication of the interest taken in Greek literary criticism and aesthetics. This edition differs but little from the previous one: but Prof. Butcher could hardly revise a piece of work, even of his own, without improvements here and there, and both text and essays show traces of such revision. The chief differences between the text of the second and third editions are noted in the preface. They are these: vii. 6, the MS reading *ὥσπερ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε φασὶ* is restored; ix. 7, Welcker's *Ἀρθεῖ* is accepted; xvii. 5, the MS *ἀναγνωρίσας τινὰς* with Vahlen; xix. 3, for *ἡδέα* MSS *ἡ διάνοια* is read with Spengel; xxii. 6, for *μέτρον* MSS *μέτριον* with Spengel.

In ix. 5 the editor still reads his conjecture *οὐ τὰ τυχεύοντα ὀνόματα* based on the Arabic version, but he has considerably modified his statement in defence of it against the vulgate *οὕτω τὰ τυχεύοντα ὀνόματα*. The choice is doubtless a difficult one; but I think Aristotle is not specially concerned with the question (interesting though it may be) whether the names of characters in comedies were significant or not. His point is that the comedian, unlike the lampooner, did not lash real individuals. He then goes on to explain the apparently discrepant practice of tragedy by showing how its 'real nomenclature' falls under the general principle of pursuit of *τὸ πιθανόν*. In xiv. 8 he approves but does not adopt Neidhardt's interchange of *δεύτερον* and *κράτιστον*. I cannot think this the remedy. It is more likely that *εἰδότα* has fallen out of the sentence *τὸ δὲ πρᾶξι δεύτερον* (as I suspect must have been already suggested) *δεύτερον* meaning second in the ascending order here adopted. Brandscheid and Vahlen assign the same sense to the passage: but the latter's explanation that *γινώσκοντα* is to be understood from 1453 b 38 seems hardly possible. Acknowledgments are made to Tucker's and Bywater's recent texts. The latter has enabled the editor to substitute MS authority for conjecture in some sixteen places. But when the name of the MS (Parisinus 2038) was inserted, the name of the emender should not have been expunged. It is important that these corroborations of the value of the critical method should not be buried out of sight; and to an edition on the scale of the present one the space saved by the omission of a few scholars' names is of little moment.

Hieronymi Chronicorum codicis Floriacensis fragmenta Leidensia Parisina Vaticana phototypice edita. Praefatus est LUDOVICUS TRAUBE. Leyden: A. W. Sijthoff. 1902. 22 mk.

THIS book forms the first volume in a 'Supplementary Series' to de Vries' issues of facsimile reproductions of ancient Classical MSS. The cost of the volumes in the principal series ranging as it does from £10 to £18 is more than many scholars can afford. But here is a chance of obtaining for a less outlay than the price of a return ticket to Paris all that remains of the oldest MS of Jerome's Chronicles. These fragments amounting to 44 pages and dispersed in the libraries of Leyden, Paris, and the Vatican have been photographed under the direction of Dr. de Vries and it need hardly be said in a style that is worthy of the series. Dr. L. Traube of Munich prefixes a learned interesting and enlightening preface in which the history of the Fleury MS is pieced together by means of testimony and inference. The date assigned to the interesting uncial codex of which only these fragments remain is the middle of the 5th century and the place of writing Italy.

Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum: confecit G. GOETZ. Tom. II, pp. 439-714. *Index Graeco-Latinus* (pp. 439-687), *Index Anglo-saxonico-Latinus* (pp. 689-714): confecit GUILIELMUS HERAEUS. B. G. Teubner, Leipzig. 1903. 12 mk.

THESE indices are a necessary complement to the 'Thesaurus of emended glosses' already noticed in this Review (xvi, pp. 63 sq.). A valuable feature in the Graeco-Latin Index is the prefixing of an asterisk to Greek words which are not registered in the last edition of Stephanus' Thesaurus or Sophocles' lexicon (1887) or are only cited

from glossaries. We are glad to note the completion of a useful undertaking.

J. P. P.

History of Rome for High Schools and Academies. By G. W. BOTSFORD. Pp. 14 + 396. Numerous Plates and Engravings. Macmillan: New York. 6s. net.

THIS is a book written with considerable skill. It is short and scientific, and yet it is not dull: and though its main object is to present general tendencies, and not to give the detail of particular events, yet where military incidents are of first class importance, such as Hannibal's march into Italy, it finds space for a surprisingly full and graphic description. Whether there is enough of the personal element for young boys may perhaps be doubtful. For sixth form boys, for *ἀνιμαθείς*, for a general public that wishes to learn clearly and concisely what is the debt we owe to Rome, a better book could not be found. Dr. Botsford is particularly happy in his extensive use in the body of the narrative of passages directly translated from ancient authors. The views expressed, are for the most part sound and vigorously put. It is rather a paradox in a school history to call Tiberius a "stern unsympathetic moralist" (p. 222)! One would like at least a cross reference to Tacitus' unfairness, (p. 257). Some of us, who were brought up on Mommsen as expounded by Professor Pelham and are not yet converted by Professor Ridgeway, will not be sorry to see the 'strange theory,' that the plebeians were either resident aliens or conquered subjects, treated as based on no evidence. Such pleasure is compatible with an open mind, should new evidence be forthcoming: and such a thing is not improbable. It need only be added that the printing of Dr. Botsford's book is fine, and the illustrations beautiful.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

REPORT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—EASTER AND TRINITY TERMS, 1903.

On May 15th, a paper was read by Mr. MYRES on the results of recent excavation in Crete. The object of the communication was to illustrate a retrospect of ten years' work in Crete, by observa-

tions made in the course of a recent visit. Special attention was drawn (1) to recent discoveries of Neolithic remains, explanatory of the Neolithic stratum of Knossos, on a number of sites especially

in Eastern Crete; (2) to the results obtained during the current season at Knossos, Agia Triada, Palaeokastro, and Gournia; (3) to the author's own investigation of a pre-Mycenaean sanctuary with votive terracottas, in the immediate neighbourhood of Palaeokastro. The last-named will be published in full in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*.

On May 18th, a special Meeting of the Society was held and Professor RAMSAY, of Exeter College, Oxford and Aberdeen University gave an address on the organisation of Research in Asia Minor, advocating the establishment of a home for students in some important centre in the interior.

On May 29th, a paper was read by Professor ROBINSON ELLIS which will be published in the album gratulatorium to be presented to M. Gaston Boissier on his attaining his eightieth birthday. It discusses certain passages of Ovid.

In Trist. I. 3, 73-6 the vv. *Sic doluit Priamus tunc cum in contraria versos Ultores habuit proditiōnis equos* are to be explained of Priam's complicity in the treason of Antenor, the preconcerted signal of which was the figure of a horse painted on the Trojan gate which Antenor opened to the Greeks, or, according to others, of horses painted on the house-doors of those Trojans who favoured the Greeks. These figures of horses instead of saving Troy had a directly contrary result: they encouraged the Greeks to turn against their Trojan accomplices and destroy the city.

In Ibis 329, 330 *Aut ut Amastriacis quondam Leneus ab oris Nudus Achillea destituatur humo*. For *Achillea* the MSS of Modena, Holkham, Florence (Laur. 33. 31), as well as Conrad di Mure's *Repertorium*, point to a word containing *m* or *n*; this would be *Echidnea*. Then we must interpret *Echidnea humo* of Scythia; for Herodotus tells us (iv. 8. 9) that Scythes, the eponymous hero of Scythia, was the son of Herakles and the half-human, half-serpent-form maiden Echidna. Mithridates (*Leneus*) is stated by Appian Mithr. 101, when in flight from the Romans, to have traversed Scythia; Cicero says of him *Amissa exercitu, regno expulsum tamen in ultimis terris aliquid etiam nunc molitur atque ab invicta Cn. Pompeii manu Macote et illis paludibus . . . defendatur* (leg. agr. II. 19 52). The name *Leneus* may perhaps have been chosen by the poet in preference to Dionysus or Nysaeus to point more clearly to Mithridates, whose work on poisons and antidotes had been translated into Latin at the command of Pompeius by one of his freedmen named *Leneus*. In this way the allusion would facilitate the solution of the riddle.

Ib. 417-8 *Qualis erat nec non fortuna binominis Iri, Quique tenent pontem, qui tibi maior erit*. Adolf Neubauer long ago suggested that, *maior* concealed an Oriental word. This word may have been the singular of *magalia*, an African name for huts. The nom. singular of this, we are told by Servius on Aen. I, 421, was *magar*, not *magal*. The poet, possibly not Ovid, would use an African word of contemptuous or even obscene connotation, to show his disgust more undisguisedly. 'May you have the lot of the beggar Irius, and of the mendicants who haunt the bridge; and your bridge shall be a veritable Moör's hovel to remind you of your native Cinyphs by the wretches you consort with and their filthy surroundings.'

A. A. III. 287-288 *Est quae peruerso distorquet ora cachinno, cum risu fusaē altera, flere putes*. Rappold would change *uso est* to *quassa est* ingeniously, but not with certainty. The corruption points rather to *uisa est*, or perhaps *fusa est*. In the former case, *cum* will be a preposition 'another

woman has been seen smiling: you would fancy she was crying,' i.e. suppose you see her laugh, it looks more like crying. With *fusa, cum* will be 'when': *fusa* = effusa, i.e., sine more soluta in risum. A. A. III. 343, 4. The first of these verses is written in the best MS R m. pr. *Dece cerem libris titulos quo signat Amorūn*. Prof. Ellis suggested that the original was *Deque recente libris titulo quos signet Amorūm* 'from the books which the poet (Ovid) marks with a new title *Amores*': in reference to the change he made in the work, edited at first in five, afterwards in three books.

The Professor added two notes on Catullus, (1) xi. 11 may be a corruption of *Galliam Rhenum, horribiles citroque ul- troque Britannos*, if we might suppose a two-fold division of the Britanni, one on either side of the channel. (2) The figure of a long-legged bird which recurs so often in the Canonici MS of Catullus may perhaps be taken from the original codex brought to Verona by a compatriot of the poet about 1315-1320 and called *papyrus* in the epigram of Benvenuto de Campesani, describing the re-discovery of the Veronese poet.

Quo licet ingenio, nestrum celebrate Catullum,
Cunis sub modio clausa papyrus erat.

A very similar figure of a long-legged bird occurs in column V. of the recently-edited papyrus of Timotheos the Milesian. It stands in the margin, its head at the front of line 12, its foot of line 14. Wilamowitz suggests that it served the purpose of the later coronis, p. 8 of his edition. Some such use it may have had in Catullus.

(2) A paper was read by Mr. A. SIDGWICK on 'Relative Parataxis' which he suggested as a convenient name for the known usage whereby, when a sentence has two relative clauses with the same antecedent, but the second relative has to be in a different case, the Greeks, apparently objecting to the changed case, substitute a demonstrative clause. The best known example is *Od. ii. 113 γήμασθαι...τῷ, δρεφ θυμὸς κέλεται καὶ ἀνδάνει αὐτῷ*. The subject to *ἀνδάνει* is 'he' not 'who' as other instances show, for whenever the second pronoun is expressed, it is always a demonstrative: cf. *Plat. Rep. 419 A ...δὲ ἐάντοῦς, ὃν ἔστι μὲν ἡ πόλις...οἱ δὲ μηδὲν ἀπολαύουσιν* ('the blame rests on themselves, to whom the city belongs...but they get no good' (instead of 'but who get no good').

He also drew attention to the *μηδὲν* in this (and other) instances, as showing that the relative character of the clause was still felt in spite of the parataxis. Similarly in *Plato Prot. 327 c* ('realise that the greatest soundrel would be considered a just man, εἰ δέοι αὐτὸν κρίνεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους οἷς μήτε παιδεία ἐστὶν μήτε δίκασθῆναι...ἀλλ' εἰ ἐν ἡγροῖ...') where *εἰ* would be normal after *οἱ*, but is abnormal in the parataxis.

A still more interesting example is *Plat. Legg. 798 A, οἷς γὰρ ἂν ἐντραφῶσι νόμοις, καὶ...ἀκίνητοι γίνονται*...where the subject of *γίνονται* is sometimes taken to be 'the men' as *ἐντραφῶσι* at first sight suggests, but really is *νόμοι* (or strictly *οἱ ἂν* carried on from *οἷς ἂν*) which suits far better the word *ἀκίνητοι*.

The exceptions, *Plat. Rep. 352 c*, and *364 E*, were also discussed; and it appeared that the two relative clauses are differently related to the main clause. The absence of *καὶ* in both is also significant.

On June 12th, a paper was read by Mr. Ross discussing three passages in Aristotle *Met. A*.

(1) 1069^b, 20-23. Lütze and others transpose *Ἀναξάγορον* and *Ἀναξίμανδρον* and Zeller, keeping the MS reading, says that *μῦθος* is applied strictly to Empedocles and extended by a Zeugma to Anaxi-

mander. But *μίγμα* means strictly in A. a chemical combination, which is just what Anaximander's *ἄπειρον* was. Nor are Lütze's other arguments valid.

(1) *ἐν* is a natural enough word to apply to Anaxagoras' *ὁμοῦ πάντα* when A. is bringing this into line with his own view of *ἔλη*. In *Phys.* 187^a 16 ff. Anaxagoras is quoted as having identified the One with matter, though he is distinguished in another respect from Anaximander. (2) Chronological order in references is by no means invariable. Cf. for instance: *De An.* I. 2.

(2) 1070^a 5-21. The text may be defended throughout except in 1.19. In 1.10 Alexi's explanation of *τῷ φαίνεσθαι* as 'from the (permissible, though inadequate) point of view of *φαντασία*' seems to be right. Cf. *Z.* 1029^a 16-19. In 1.19 *ἄλλα τούτων* would give a good sense ('there are forms of as many things as exist by nature, if there are really forms apart from these things themselves') but then *ὁλον...τελευταία* is quite irrelevant, for as the things here named are mere matter, there could not possibly be forms in Aristotle's view of them. Hence Alexi thinks *ὁλον...τελευταία* out of place. But it is better to change *ἄλλα* into *ἄλλ' οὐ*.—*πῦρ* is *ἔλη* to *σάρξ*, *σάρξ*

is *ἔλη* to *κεφαλή*, *κεφαλή* is *ἔλη* to *ζῷον*, which is *μάλιστα οὐσία*. The same three stages are given in *De Part. An.* 646^a 12-24.

(3) 1071^a 4-17. L. 7 *πίπτει...1.11 ἄμφω* is parenthetical. For the ambiguous position of *στέρξης* cf. *Phys.* 201^b 33.—*ἄλλα ἄλλοι* is too simple to need explanation; *ἄλλως ἄλλοις* A. explains by *ἐν ἐνίοις μὲν...ἄλλως δ'...* This is the distinction between immanent *δύναμις* where the same thing exists first in an undeveloped, then in a developed state, and transeunt *δύναμις* (ἡ κατὰ κίνησιν λεγόμενη of θ 1). The *ἔλη* and the *εἶδος* and the *δύναμις* of a thing in the first sense; the proximate efficient cause (ὁ πατήρ) is so in the second sense, and so is the remote efficient cause, which is not even, like the proximate cause, *ὁμοειδές* with the product. In 1.12 *μή* and *οὐ* imply that the first clause states the concept of the class while the second states a matter of fact; the 2nd *ἔν=καὶ τούτων*. Things which have different matter, i.e. different individuals, must, strictly speaking, have different forms (cf. 1.23).

LEWIS R. FARNELL.
Hon. Sec.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ZEUS, JUPITER AND THE OAK.

(Continued from p. 278.)

In the present paper I propose to show that the cult of Zeus as it existed in the Oasis of Ammon and in several towns of ancient Crete, Caria, etc., was essentially the same as the cult of the Pelasgian Zeus at Dodona, i.e. that Zeus was at each of these cult-centres conceived as a triple divinity (sky-god + water-god + earth-god) dwelling in a sacred oak and served by a priestly-king, who was regarded as an incarnation of Zeus himself and whose duty it was to maintain the sun's heat by magical means.

The priestesses of Dodona are reported to have said that of two black doves (*πελειάδες*), which flew from Thebes in Egypt, one came to Epirus and founded the oracle of Dodona, the other to Libya and founded that of Zeus Ammon (*Hdt.* 2. 55). This implies that the cult of Zeus at the famous Ammonium in the Libyan desert was similar to that of Zeus at Dodona; and Herodotus definitely states (2. 57) that such was the case. The details known to us fully bear out the resemblance. Zeus had a female consort Hera *Ἀρμονία* (*Paus.* 5. 15. 11 with Frazer's note, cp. the gem figured by Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus Gemmentaf. 4, 13 and Wernicke *ant. Denkm.* ii. 1 pl. 5, 3). His cultus-image was an old wooden statue

(*Diod.* 17. 50 *ξύλον*) or stump (*Curt.* 4. 7) 23 *umbilico maxime similes*) covered with emeralds¹ and other precious stones. Now a sacred stump of this sort almost presupposes a sacred tree. And, in point of fact, at the Ammonium there was or once had been an ancient oracular oak, a circumstance commonly neglected or discredited,² but distinctly stated by *Clem. Al. protr.* 11 *Dind.* = *Euseb. prep. ev.* 2. 3 *Dind.* *γεράνδρον δὲ ψάμμοις ἐρήμιας τετιμημένον καὶ τὸ αὐτόθι μαντεῖον αὐτῇ δρὺν μεμαρασμένον μύθοις γεγρακόσι καταλείψατε.* *Sil. Ital.* 3. 688 ff. says still more explicitly that at the Ammonium there was an ancient grove of oaks (*premunt nunc sidera quercus*) and one tree of especial sanctity in which the deity resided and before which altars were kept burning (*arbor numen habet coliturque tepentibus aris*). There were also sacred birds (*Aristoph. av.* 716, *Strab.* 814, *Plut. v. Alex.* 27, *Curt.* 4. 7. 15),³ the *κρήνη Ἥλιου*

¹ Emeralds, which shone with a peculiar radiance of their own (*Hdt.* 2. 44), were associated elsewhere with solar gods (*Theophr. de lap.* 24 f., *Plin. nat. hist.* 37. 74 f.).

² On the ground that oaks would not be found so far south. But *Plin. nat. hist.* 16. 32 expressly states that one species of evergreen oak (*parva aquifolia ilex=quercus coccifera* Linn.) grew in north Africa; and modern writers cite several others (*qu. ballota* Desf., *qu. suber* Linn., *qu. Mirbeckii* Durieu: *La Grande Encyclopédie* x. 1065 b, 1066 a, b).

³ These authorities mostly mention ravens. But the myth in *Hdt.* 2. 55 speaks of a dove, as does

whose waters were cold at noon but warm in the morning and evening (Hdt. 4. 181, *al.*), a perpetual lamp (Plut. *de def. orac.* 2), and 'the ancient palace of the kings' (Curt. 4. 7. 21). In short, the whole apparatus of the oracle bore a striking resemblance to that of Dodona. Strabo (329 *frag.* 1) adds that they both gave their responses in the same way, οὐδὲν λόγων ἀλλὰ διὰ τινων συμβόλων. And tradition relates that in early days Zeus Ammon, like Zeus Naïos, had en-joined human sacrifice (Apollod. 2. 4. 3). It may well be, then, that the Ammonium too was a site of Pelasgian worship. There is every reason to believe that the Pelasgians had a footing, not only round the shores of the Aegean, but also along the north coast of Africa. These 'Graeco-Libyans' or 'Libyo-Greeks,' as Prof. Flinders Petrie called them in 1890 (*J.H.S.* xi. 271 ff.), may therefore have had a cult of their god in the Oasis, a cult naturally fused (a) with that of the Egyptian ram-god 'Amūn (on whom see Pietschmann in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. 'Ammon') if the ram was traditionally associated with the Pelasgian Zeus (see p. 184 f.) and (b) with that of the Punic *Ba'alchemmān*, 'dweller in the sacred post' (see E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex.* i. 2870, who figures the Baal-stele of Lilybaeum with its three sacred posts or stones), if the Pelasgian Zeus likewise had his sacred stump. Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* § 198 n. 7 was the first in modern times to question the Egyptian character of Zeus Ammon; and Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 273 ff. brings forward weighty arguments in favour of the view that he was a genuine Greek divinity. We need not, then, with Küster, emend or explain away Suid. 'Ἀμμων ὄνομα θεοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. Zeus of the Oasis was in truth the same god as Zeus of Dodona. The former, like the latter, was a sky-god or sun-god (Pind. *frag.* 36 Chr. 'Ἀμμων Ὀλύμπου δέσποτα, Mart. Cap. 192 Kopp. Ammon identified with Phoebus, Macrobi. 1. 21. 19 Ammonem, quem deum solem occidentem Libyes existimant; cp. the κρήνη Ἡλίου, etc.), who controlled the rain and springs of water (Plut. *v. Alex.* 27 sends rain, Serv. *Aen.* 4. 196, *alib.* his ram finds water; cp. Ammon-masks as fountain-mouths in Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 277, 285, also Parthey *das Orakel u. die Oase des Ammon* p. 136), exercising at least one chthonian

that of Semiramis in Diod. 2. 20. Wild doves are so numerous in the Oasis nowadays that the Fountain of the Sun is known locally as the Fountain of Doves (Rohlf's *von Tripolis nach Alexandrien* ii. 121).

prerogative, that of giving oracles. Whether the ancient kings of the Oasis mentioned by Q. Curtius were regarded as incarnations of Ammon we do not know. But it is highly probable. For, not only did the Euhemerists declare that Ammon was a Libyan king (Diod. 3. 68), but it was the regular thing in Egypt for the king to imagine that his father was the sun-god Ammon-Ra incarnate (Budge *Hist. of Egypt* vii. 145). M. A. Moret in his remarkable treatise *du caractère religieux de la royauté Pharaonique* Paris 1902 has proved this to demonstration (chap. 2) and has further shown that the Egyptian king habitually listened to 'des incantations magiques qui écartent de lui, dieu solaire, les ennemis du Soleil' (p. 314). In this connexion the various accounts of Alexander's visit to the Ammonium merit attention. According to Callisthenes (Strab. 814, cp. Plut. *v. Alex.* 27) and Aristobulus, 'whose account is generally admitted as correct' (Arr. *anab.* 3. 3), Alexander was guided thither by two ravens (cp. also Curt. 4. 7. 15, Diod. 17. 49). On his arrival he, and he alone, was allowed by the priest to enter the temple without changing his garments. Moreover, the priest, who ordinarily gave his responses by nods and tokens, told Alexander plainly that he was the son of Zeus (Callisth. *ap.* Strab. 814); and as such¹ he used afterwards to wear the purple cloak, the special shoes (περισχιδαῖς), and the horns of the god (Ephippus *ap.* Athen. 537 E). The conquering hero guided by the birds to the oracular seat and accepted by the priest as the son of Zeus is indeed a highly suggestive incident. Ptolemy I had a *temenos* at Dodona (Athen. 203 A); Philip of Macedon had 'a round building' near the Prytaneum at Olympia (Paus. 5. 20. 9); Alexander was deified at the Ammonium. Were they not each and all victorious embodiments of the god?

Dodon or Dodonos, from whom according to one version Dodona took its name, was the son of Zeus by Europa (Steph. Byz. s.v. Δωδώνη, schol. *Il.* 16. 233 cod. V). Zeus had consorted with Europa by a fountain at Gortyn under an evergreen plane (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 9. 5, Varr. *de re rust.* 1. 7. 6, Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 11), which on account of its remarkable foliage Theophrastus compared with an oak growing at Sybaris (Theophr. *loc. cit.*, Varr. *loc. cit.*) The

¹ Apelles painted Alexander holding a thunderbolt (Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 92), i.e. with the attribute of Zeus himself: cp. the gem figured and discussed by Wernicke *ant. Denkm.* p. 47, pl. 4, 9.

comparison suggests that the plane, the finest of all Cretan trees (Hoeck *Kreta* i. 40), did duty for an oak; and the same may be true of the various plane-trees connected with Zeus' *Ἀγαμέμνων* (p. 277 n. 2). But, apart from this possibility, more certain traces of the oak-cult at Gortyn survive in a well-known series of silver didrachms, of



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

which two samples are here given (fig. 1 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Crete p. 38, pl. 9, 5; fig. 2 = *Bunbury Cat.* no. 1179, now in *Brit. Mus.*). Mr. J. N. Svoronos in the *Revue Belge de Numismatique* 1894, p. 113 ff. has shown that the usual description of these types as Europa in the plane-tree is quite mistaken. The tree is not a plane at all, but an oak. He cites the opinion not only of numismatists such as Prof. P. Gardner (*Types of Gk. Coins* p. 166) and Messrs. Imhoof-Keller (*Tier- und Pflanzenbilder* p. 63, 40), but also of Mr. Spyridion Miliarakis, Professor of Botany at Athens, who states that 'les feuilles des arbres . . . qui sont les mieux représentées de toutes, ainsi que tout le reste, laissent reconnaître facilement à toute personne qui connaît les arbres de la Grèce, que ce n'est pas un platane, mais bien un chêne (*δρῦς*).' Mr. Svoronos argues with much probability that the coins in question illustrate a myth preserved by Callim. *h. Dian.* 189 ff. Britomartis, a Gortynian nymph in the train of Artemis, was loved by Minos and, being pursued by her lover, took refuge *λασίγυνος ὑπὸ δρυϊ*.¹ When after a nine months' chase he was about to seize her, she plunged from a height into the sea; and, being caught by the nets of the fishermen, was thenceforward called Dictyna, while the height was named Mt. Dictæ. The latter part of this tale is aetiological and late. Mr. Svoronos thinks that the earlier version of it can be restored from the coin-types: Minos, taking upon him the form of an eagle, wooed and won

his oak-nymph in a Cretan oak. If it be objected that this metamorphosis of Minos is nowhere mentioned, Mr. Svoronos bids us remember that Minos was a hypostasis of the Cretan Zeus and as such might well adopt this animal disguise. He supports his contention by citing the singular variant according to which Ganymedes was carried off, not by Zeus transformed into an eagle,² but by Minos (Echemenes *Κρητικά ap. Athen.* 601 E). From Crete, he adds, the cult of Britomartis made its way to Aegina (Anton. Lib. 40, Paus. 2. 30. 3); and the Aeginetans averred that to win their eponymous nymph Zeus had taken the same form, that of an eagle (Roscher *Lex.* i. 148, 40 f.). Here Mr. Svoronos might have strengthened his case by noting that in Aegina too Zeus was connected with an oak. *Ov. met.* 7. 622 relates how the island was peopled in answer to the prayer of Aeacus, son of Aegina, who stood beneath an oak that was sacred to Jupiter and had sprung 'de semine Dodonaeo.' Quite possibly *Ἀίγινα* means 'Oak-island' and is a cognate of *αἰγίλωψ*, *αἰγίς*, *Eiche*, oak. However that may be, it was no hap-hazard choice that made Aeacus the colleague of Minos.

The two coins that I have figured correspond to the first and last chapters of the Gortyn myth. The first shows the oak-nymph seated in maidenly modesty on her tree with no hint of Zeus-Minos or his designs. The second shows her later on in a very different guise; she is here the divine queen: like Hera at Argos she wears a crown and holds a sceptre surmounted by a bird; with her left hand she raises her *peplos* after the fashion of a bride, while with her right she caresses the eagle. The tree-trunk has become a veritable throne; and its bare surface is everywhere bursting into bud, for the tree-nymph has been fertilised indeed by her royal and divine consort. That consort was probably credited with solar powers; for one coin of Gortyn has the whole design of Britomartis and her eagle in the tree surrounded by a circle of rays (*Rev. Belge de Num.* 1894, pl. 4, 14).²

Didrachms of Tisyros also bear the type of Britomartis seated in her oak (*ib.* pl. 4, 3). But it is to Cnossus, the home of Minos, that we naturally turn for the most definite

¹ A sarcophagus-relief in the Vatican (Wernicke *antike Denkm.* ii. 1. pl. 8, 19) and a cameo of the Marlborough collection (Furtwängler *Steinschnidekunst* pl. 65, 52) show Ganymedes feeding the eagle in front of an oak with acorns.

² Cp. the solar rays round the eagle that is carrying off Thalia on a red-figured vase of the Hamilton collection (Tischbein i. pl. 24).

¹ The oak-woods of Crete, now fast disappearing (Hoeck *Kreta*, i. 39), are mentioned by Dionys. *orb. descr.* 503.

evidence of the relation between the king and the oak. And here we are not disappointed. Unless I am much mistaken, the throne of Minos discovered by Mr. A. Evans is simply a modified tree-trunk, an oak-stump conventionalised into a stone seat. Nothing short of this will account for its unique design. The back of the throne, as Mr. H. R. Hall observed (*The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 294), is shaped like an oak-leaf; the quasi-Gothic arch formed by its legs resembles the hollow seen on the oak-trunk of several Gortyn coins (e.g. *Rev. Belge de Num.* 1894, pl. 4, 1-3, 7); and the crockets on the arch exactly tally with the buds visible on some coins of the same series (e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Crete, pl. 9, 6).

Mr. Svoronos spoke of Zeus-Minos. So does Mr. A. Evans (*J.H.S.* xxi. 181), regarding this equivocal personage as 'a solar deity.' But the precise connexion between Zeus and Minos is a little difficult to come at. Helbig in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 3001, 54 ff. sums up as follows: 'The intimacy subsisting between Zeus and Minos, whom the earliest legends represent as his son and confidant, the importance attached . . . to the number nine in Minos' career . . . , the myths associated with him, viz. those of the Minotaur, Pasiphae, and Talos, all make it highly probable that in early days the Cretan Zeus, sky-god and sun-god, was confused with the human king. A complete identification of the two, though it has been repeatedly asserted by recent investigators, seems incompatible with the evidence supplied by tradition.' May not the solution of this problem be found in the conception of a priestly-king, who was regarded as the embodiment of a solar Zeus? This would explain a small point shrewdly observed by Winckelmann (*Gesch. d. Kunst d. Altert.*¹ p. 294): 'Minos auf Münzen von Gnosus würde ohne einen stolzen, königlichen Blick einem Iuppiter voll Huld und Gnade ähnlich sehen.' It would account for the bald Roman belief that Jupiter was 'a Cretan king' (Firm. Mat. 6. 1 and 16. 1), and justify the subtler Greek tradition that there were two Zeuses, of whom one was Zeus 'Ολύμπιος, the other a king of Crete (Diod. 3. 61). It would also suit the mythical relations of Minos to Britomartis and to Gany-medes. Other arguments in support of it are adduced below: for the moment these will serve.

The Cretan Zeus, of whom Minos appears to have been the human representative, was (1) a sky-god. His solar character is shown

by his cult-title Ταλαιός or Ταλλαίος (Hesych. s.v. Ταλαιός, *C.I.G.* 2554) taken in connexion with the Hesychian gloss ταλῶς ὁ ἥλιος. He was likewise a god of the starry sky; for at Gortyn he bore the name Ἀστέριος (Cedren. i. 217 Bonn., Tzetz. *antehom.* 100 f., *chil.* 1. 473). Again, he seems to have been a rain-god; for he was identified with Marnas, the chief divinity of Gaza Minoa (e.g. by Steph. Byz. s.v. Γάζα, who derives Μάρνα from Μάρως), and Marcus Diaconus (v. *Porph.* p. 180 Haupt) speaks of Marnas as κύριον τῶν ὀμβρῶν.¹ The double axe, which occurs so often on the monuments of Cnossus, etc., probably belonged to him in his capacity of a thunder-god: votive double axes are marked with diagonals and zig-zags (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900-1901, vii. 53, fig. 15), which perhaps denote lightning. (2) Another symbol frequently found on the stones of Minoan palaces is the trident. One block at Cnossus is marked with both the double axe and the trident. This combination, when it occurs on Carian coins, betokens the cult of Zenoposeidon. In Crete too Zeus seems to have been one with Poseidon. The Zeus who in bull-form carried off Europa from Sidon to Gortyn was doubtless the θαλάσσιος Ζεὺς worshipped at Sidon (Hesych. s.v.). Pasiphae's bull is described sometimes as the bull of Poseidon, sometimes as the bull of Zeus (Roscher *Lex.* iii. 1667, 59 ff.). Minos, though usually the son of Zeus, is spoken of by Lyc. 431 as the son of Erechtheus, a name better known as belonging to Poseidon (Hesych. s.v. Ἐρεχθεύς). (3) Lastly, the constant connexion of the Cretan Zeus with the Dictaeon and Idaean Caves is suggestive rather of an earth-god; and in a fragment of Euripides' *Κρήτες* Zeus is actually called Hades—Ζεὺς εἰρ' Ἀΐδης | ὀνομαζόμενος στέργεις κ.τ.λ. (*frag.* 904 Dind.). Thus the Cretan Zeus united in his person the attributes of sky-god, sea-god, and earth-god. He was at once Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades.

In the Idaean Cave was found a lentoid gem of rock-crystal, which represents a horned altar placed in front of three trees, while a female votary blows a triton-shell before it. Mr. A. Evans in his invaluable essay on the 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult' rightly regards this scene as 'the worship of a trinity of sacred trees,' and cites other examples of tree-trinities venerated in Greece and elsewhere, e.g. 'a triple

¹ The Cretan Zeus Βιδάτας (*C.I.A.* ii. 549) was identified with Zeus Τέτιος by Voretzsch (*Hermes* iv. 267), who derived the epithet from a Cretan βιδωρ=βιδωρ, cp. the Phrygian βέδω (Clem. Al. *strom.* 5 p. 673).

group of trees, with their trunks closely drawn together' on a gold ring from Mycenae (*J.H.S.* xxi. 141 ff. figs. 25, 56). I would suggest that the provenience of the gem from the Idaean Cave points to the cult being that of the Cretan Zeus, and that the three trees behind the altar are those in which his triple godhead resided. Even as late as Theophrastus' time there grew in the mouth of the Idaean Cave a remarkable poplar that was thought to bear fruit (*Theophr. hist. plant.* 3. 3. 4, cp. *ib.* 2. 2. 10, [*Aristot.*] *mir. ausc.* 69 Westerm.), and we have repeatedly seen the αἴγυος serving as a substitute for a sacred oak (p. 273).

base and each supporting the figure of a dove (fig. 3 reproduced by permission from *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901-1902 viii. 29 fig. 14). 'The trinity of baetylic columns,' says Mr. Evans, 'recalls the fact that in the case of the gold shrines of Mycenae, and again in the Temple Fresco from the Palace of Knossos, we find a triple group of pillar cells.' Mr. Evans takes the three-fold shrines of Knossos and Mycenae to be those of a dove goddess, though he is careful to note that 'the dove also appears as the "Messenger" of Zeus' (*ib.* p. 29 n. 3). In view of the fact that doves were believed to have fed Zeus in a Cretan cave (*Athen.* 491



FIG. 3.

On the floor-level of the original palace at Knossos Mr. Evans discovered 'the remains of a miniature Sanctuary including a Pillar Shrine with sacred doves, altars with their ritual horns, a kind of portable seat for a divinity, and other accessories,' e.g. three small triton-shells like the one figured on the gem from the Idaean Cave. The pillar shrine was clearly the object of chief importance in this most interesting deposit. It consisted of a group of three terra-cotta pillars standing on a common

base and each supporting the figure of a dove (fig. 3 reproduced by permission from *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901-1902 viii. 29 fig. 14). 'The trinity of baetylic columns,' says Mr. Evans, 'recalls the fact that in the case of the gold shrines of Mycenae, and again in the Temple Fresco from the Palace of Knossos, we find a triple group of pillar cells.' Mr. Evans takes the three-fold shrines of Knossos and Mycenae to be those of a dove goddess, though he is careful to note that 'the dove also appears as the "Messenger" of Zeus' (*ib.* p. 29 n. 3). In view of the fact that doves were believed to have fed Zeus in a Cretan cave (*Athen.* 491

So, as I have just shown, was Zeus in Crete. Zeus at Dodona had a sacred oak. So had Zeus-Minos in Crete. About the Dodonaean oak were ranged three doves, as we see from a bronze coin of Epirus (fig. 4 redrawn



FIG. 4.

from Imhoof-Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder*, pl. 5, 28). When, therefore, we find three doves perched upon a triad of pillars in the palace of Zeus-Minos himself, are we not right in regarding them as the sacred birds of a triple tree-Zeus?¹

This analogy between the Zeus-cults of Dodona and Cnossus is strikingly confirmed by another of Mr. Evans' brilliant discoveries. He found a later chamber of the same palace actually arranged as a shrine with its cultus-objects still in position (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901-1902, viii. 97, fig. 55). Behind a low tripod-stand for offerings stood the horned sockets of two double axes. Round these sockets were grouped sundry terra-cotta figurines, including one of a male votary holding a dove and another of a goddess with a dove on her head. Against one of the sockets was resting a small double axe of steatite with duplicated blades. Mr. Evans justly infers 'a dual cult' (*ib.* p. 101), viz. that of a goddess as well as a god, who wielded the symbolic weapon; and he publishes a Cnossian gem on which a goddess bearing a double axe is engraved (*ib.* p. 102).² 'The accumulating proofs,' he says, 'supplied by signets, gems, and seal impressions of the cult of a divine pair in Minōan Knossos, not infrequently associated with lions, make it probable that the cult of the Cretan Zeus was here linked with that of Rhea, the ruins of whose temple with its sacred Cypress Grove were pointed out at Knossos in later days (Diod.

5. 65).' In other words, there was at Cnossus, as at Dodona, the joint cult of a sky-god and an earth-goddess. And, if we may identify the goddess with a dove on her head as Aphrodite (cp. the gold plaques from Mycenae in Perrot-Chipiez *op. cit.* p. 652, figs. 293 f.), we obtain one more point of contact; for Aphrodite also was worshipped in the precinct at Dodona. To complete the parallel, I must show that not only Zeus-Minos but also Rhea and Aphrodite had sacred oaks.

If Zeus was lord of sky and sea and earth, it must be admitted that Rhea made him a suitable partner: *ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Πέας καὶ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα καὶ οὐρανὸς συνέχεται* (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1098). The passage on which the scholiast is commenting describes how the Argonauts, in order to lay a storm, went up Mt. Dindymon and sacrificed to Rhea. They cut down an old stump of a vine, which Apollonius calls a *γερᾶνδρον* (l. 1118), and Argus of Dodonaean fame shaped it to serve as the image of the goddess. They next covered it with boughs of oak (1121), and when they had wreathed themselves with oak leaves (1123 f.) proceeded to offer sacrifice. The scholiast's remark on 1124 is almost superfluous: 'They wore a wreath of oak leaves because the tree is sacred to Rhea. It is sacred to Rhea, as Apollodorus *περὶ θεῶν* bk. iii. states, because it is useful for building purposes and for food.' Autonomous coins of Smyrna show the head of the same Great Mother surrounded by an oak-wreath (fig. 5 = *Brit.*



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins, Ionia pl. 25, 10) or the name of the eponymous magistrate similarly placed (fig. 6 = *ib.* pl. 25, 6). Aphrodite too had her sacred oaks, as is evident not only from the cult of Aphrodite *Ἀσκραία* (*infra*) but also from the 'oak-grove of Aphrodite' near Psophis in Arcadia (Paus. 8. 25. 1).

Again, the double axe exalted in the Cnossian shrine can be paralleled from

¹ The gold models of a temple-façade from Mycenae show two doves as acroteria on the triple shrine (Perrot-Chipiez *La Grèce primitive* p. 337 fig. 111) and Soph. *Trach.* 172 speaks of 'the two doves at Dodona'; but most authors give the number of the latter as three (Jebb on Soph. *Trach.* p. 204).

² Mr. Rouse (*J.H.S.* xxi. 270) cites a female figure holding a double axe in either hand from a metal belt found in Crete (*Ep. Arch.* 1900 p. 37).

Dodona. 'Yonder,' says Philostratus in his description of the Dodonaean precinct (Philostr. *maj. im.* 2. 33. 1), 'is placed the axe (πέλεκυς), which was left by Hellus the woodcutter, from whom the Helli of Dodona trace their descent.' And a miniature double axe of bronze was found at Dodona by Carapanos (*Dodone* pl. 54). We need not hesitate, therefore, to treat the Cnossian finds as evidence of the same cult of a Pelasgian tree-Zeus, who was supreme over sky and sea and earth.

Minos his vice-gerent had similar powers. At any moment he could produce a thunderstorm by an appeal to Zeus (Bacch. 17. 50 ff., Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 5). He married Pasiphae, a daughter of Helios, and kept as his sentinel Talos the sun. When the Cretans disputed his right to reign over them, he prayed to Poseidon, who sent him a bull from the sea by way of proof (Apollod. 3. 1. 3, *alib.*). And the story of his flinging his ring into the sea (Bacch. 17. 60 ff., Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 5, Paus. 1. 17. 3) is very possibly based upon the old custom of sea-marriage common to Pelasgian kings (cp. Polycrates and the Doges of Venice). Finally, after death Minos became a judge in the Underworld.

Tzetzes, to whom we owe so much out-of-the-way mythological lore, has preserved a yet more explicit tradition concerning Minos, which has not attracted the attention that it deserves. 'Minos the Cretan,' he says (*chil.* 1. 473 f.), 'was the son of Zeus Ἀστέριος. *In by-gone days it was customary to call all kings Zeuses (τοὺς βασιλεῖς δ' ἀνέκαθε Δίας¹ ἐκάλουν πάντας).*' This statement is repeated in Tzetz. *antehom.* 100 ff., where we read that Menelaüs 'sailed to Crete to sacrifice to his forefather Zeus Ἀστέριος, king of the Cretans. *For in early times men called all kings Zeuses (οἱ πρὶν γὰρ τε Δίας πάντας κάλειον βασιλῆας).*' In both passages Tzetzes, to allay incredulity, has an astronomical explanation ready: kings receive their sceptre from 'the star of Jupiter.'² But, whatever may be thought of his explanation, the statement that early kings were actually dubbed Zeus is credible enough. Salmoneus king of Elis ἔλεγε . . . ἑαυτὸν εἶναι Δία (Apollod. 1. 9. 7). Ceyx king of Trachys declared that his wife was Hera, ἥ δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα Δία (ib. 1. 7. 4).

¹ This example of the plural Δίες should be added to the two so far recorded, viz. Eust. 1384, 47 f., Plut. *mor.* 425 E, F.

² Cp. Tzetz. *chil.* 9. 453 f. Δία δ' ἐνταῦθα νόησόν τινα τῶν βασιλέων, | τοὺς πρὶν γὰρ πάντας βασιλεῖς Δίας οἱ πρὶν ἐκάλουν and the context.

Agamemnon king of Mycenae is described by Lyc. 1369 f. as Ζηνὶ τῷ Λαπερσίῳ | ὁμώνυμος Ζεὺς: the same author says of him Ζεὺς Σπαρτιάταις αἰμύλοις κληθήσεται (1124), and even uses his name convertibly with that of Zeus when he speaks of Priam as killed ἀμφὶ τύμβῳ τάγαμέμνονος (335, cp. Hesych. ἀγαμέμνονα· τὸν αἰθέρα Μηρόδωρος εἶπεν ἀλληγορικῶς). Amphiaraius at Oropus and Trophonius at Lebadea were called Zeus (reff. in Rohde *Psyche*² i. 125 nn. 1, 2). A similar custom may have given rise to the tale that Zeus visited the wife of Amphitryon εὐκῶς Ἀμφιτρίωνι (schol. *Od.* 11. 266, cp. Pind. *Nem.* 10. 15, *mythogr. Gr.* p. 370, 4 Westerm., Isocr. 10. 59). I accept therefore as true Tzetzes' assertion that Minos was the son of a king who posed as Zeus Ἀστέριος. Hence the tradition that Ἀστέριος (Diod. 4. 60, schol. vet. Lyc. 1301) or Ἀστερίων (Hes. *frag.* 52 Kinkel, *etym. mag.* 588, 24 f.) was a Cretan king, who received Europa from the hands of Zeus and became by her the father of Minos.

That the kings of Minos' line were regarded as incarnations of Zeus appears also from the nature of their regalia. In the south wing of the palace at Cnossus Mr. Evans found a bas-relief representing portions 'of a male head wearing a crown, the upper part of which consisted of a row of sloping *fleurs-de-lys* with a taller upright one in the centre. Of the others all had a forward slant except the hindmost, which was sloped in the other direction. The colours of the diadem itself and its offshoots were evidently intended to represent inlaid metal-work. The *fleur-de-lys* ornament recurred in the shape of a collar formed of links of this shape round the neck of a male torso found near the relief of the crown' (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900-1901, vii. 15). Mr. Evans from the analogy of other processional frescoes concludes 'that in this crowned head we see before us a Mycenaean king' (ib.). Now at Olympia (Paus. 5. 22. 5 Frazer) there was 'an image of Zeus turned towards the rising sun, holding an eagle in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other; and on his head he wore a wreath of lilies.' Lily flowers were also wrought by Pheidias on the golden robe of his great chryselephantine Zeus (Paus. 5. 11. 1). It would seem, then, that the king at Cnossus wore the same crown as Zeus at Olympia: the fact speaks for itself.³ Further, it is

³ It was probably as the flower of Zeus that the lily was associated with the double axe. A *larnax* found by Mr. J. H. Marshall at Palaikastro is decorated with a lily plant, of whose flowers two are

possible that this species of lily was named *ἀστέριον*. For Clement of Alexandria, when discussing the garlands appropriate to particular deities, remarks *κρίνω δὲ ἡδεσθαι τὴν Ἥραν φασί* (*paed.* 2. 8. 72, cp. *geopon.* 11. 19); and Pausanias, speaking of the river Asterion near the Argive Heraeum, says—'On its banks grows a plant which they also name *ἀστέριον*: they offer the plant to Hera, and twine its leaves into wreaths for her' (2. 17. 2 Frazer).

But who or what was the Minotaur? He too was called *Ἀστέριος* (Apollod. 3. 1. 4) or *Ἀστέριον* (Paus. 2. 31. 1): on an amphora from Nola his body is bespangled with stars¹ (Gerhard *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, pl. 160); and on coins of Cnossus he is over-arched with a row of dots or stars (Baumeister *Denkm.* p. 936, fig. 1011). Was he too, then, a Cretan king posing as a sky-god? The suggestion seems a rash one; but there is evidence to be quoted in its favour. A



FIG. 7.

seal-impression found by Mr. Evans in the palace at Cnossus shows the Minotaur seated on a cross-legged chair beneath a palm-tree (fig. 7 by permission from *Ann. Brit. Sch.*

naturalistic, but the third takes the form of a double axe mounted on an elaborate base (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901-1902 viii. pl. 18 a). On the great gold signet from Mycenae a large double axe stands in intimate relation to three female figures, each of whom wears a lily on her head (*J.H.S.* xxi. 108 Fig. 4).

A unique silver coin of Cnossus shows **ΜΙΝΩΣ** seated on a high-backed throne holding a sceptre. Friedländer (*Zeitschr. f. Num.* vi. 232 f.) says of him: 'Er ist seinem Vater ähnlich dargestellt. . . Sein Mantel ist auf unserer Münze punktiert.' Have we not here Minos conceived as Zeus *Ἀστέριος* with a starry robe?

Ath. 1900-1901, vii. 18 fig. 7a). This cross-legged chair should be compared with the 'folding-chair made by Daedalus' that was kept along with the bronze palm-tree of Callimachus in the old palace of Erechtheus on the Athenian Acropolis² (Paus. 1. 27. 1); also with the well-known form of the curule chair, on which sat the early kings of Rome. The comparison makes it almost certain that the Minotaur is here enthroned as king; and that, in the palace of Minos. We are thus driven towards the conclusion that Minos and the Minotaur are but different forms of the same personage. As human king he was Minos: as Zeus incarnate he was the Minotaur.

We have yet to account for his semi-bovine form. There are several indications that in Crete the sun was conceived as a bull. Talos, whom Hesychius equates with the sun, was sometimes described as 'a bull' (Apollod. 1. 9. 26). The Cretans called the sun *ἄδιοῖνος ταῖπος*, because he had led a band of colonists to their destination under the guise of a bull (Bekk. *anecd. Gr.* 344, 10 ff.). The sun kept his cattle at Gortyn (Serv. *eccl.* 6. 60); and Virgil represents Pasiphae's bull as lying beneath an evergreen oak or following the Gortynian cows (Verg. *eccl.* 6. 53 ff.). It may be conjectured, therefore, that the ritual costume of Minos as the sun-king was a bull-mask, and that this gave rise to the legend of the bull-headed Minotaur.³

These considerations will help us to a better understanding of that perpetual puzzle, the Labyrinth. If, as M. Mayer first suggested (*Jahrb. d. K. D. Arch. Inst.*, 1892, vii. 191), the name is to be connected with *λάβrys*, 'a double axe,' the Labyrinth was probably the abode of a sky-power of some sort (*supra*, p. 406). Now the earliest form of the Labyrinth on coins of Cnossus is the *swastika* or a derivative of the *swastika* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Crete pl. 4, 7-13); and the Labyrinth pattern found by Mr. Evans in a corridor of the 'Hall of Double Axes' at Cnossus is again a simple derivative of the *swastika* (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901-1902 viii. 104). But it is quite

² This is but one of a whole series of remarkable agreements between the palace of Minos and the palace of Erechtheus. These agreements, as I shall hope to prove, affect both the plan of the buildings concerned and the cults carried on in them.

³ Dr. Frazer points out to me that Egyptian kings used to put on their heads masks of lions, bulls, and serpents (Diod. 1. 62). Diodorus thinks that this custom was not without influence on Greek mythology. Later rationalism came within an inch of the truth: Cedren. i. 217 Bonn. *μετὰ Μίνωα Μινώταυρος ὁ Πασίφης καὶ Ταύρου βασιλεύς*.

certain that the *swastika* was originally 'a symbolic representation of the sun, or of a solar god' (Goblet d'Alviella *The Migration of Symbols*, p. 50, cp. Bertrand *La Religion des Gaulois*, p. 140 ff., Haddon *Evolution in Art*, p. 282 ff.). The Labyrinth, therefore, symbolised the solar character of its occupant, the Minotaur. This agrees with the statement of Diod. 1. 61, 97 and Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 85 that the Cretan Labyrinth was a copy of the Egyptian Labyrinth near Lake Moeris; for Plin. *ib.* 84 says of the latter: 'Most authorities assert that it was built in honour of the Sun, and this is the common view.'

A further reason for identifying Minos with the Minotaur is this. Minos as priestly-king had a reign of limited duration: *ἐννέωπος βασιλεύς* (Od. 19. 179), 'he was king for a period of nine years,' and at the expiration of every such period he repaired to the Idaean Cave for a personal interview with Zeus (Plat. *Min.* 319 c, *legg.* 624 b, Strab. 476, 762, Eust. 1861, 25 ff., Val. Max. 1. 2. ext. 1). It was also at intervals of nine years that the Minotaur received his tale of human victims (Plut. *v. Thes.* 15, Diod. 4. 61, Ov. *met.* 8. 171, cp. Hoeck *Kreta*, ii. 93 f.). This probably implies that the divine powers of the sun-king needed renewal at the end of every *annus magnus* (Censorin. *de die nat.* 18, who states that the Pythian games originally took place every ninth year, as do Dem. Phal. *ap. schol.* Od. 3. 267, schol. Pind. *Pyth.* p. 298 Boeckh). Dr. Frazer has proved (*Golden Bough*² ii. 1 ff.) that divine kings all the world over are put to death at the close of a set period to prevent the decay of their supernatural powers. Among the traces of this primitive custom that survived in Greece he quotes (*ib.* 18) the fact that the Spartan kings were liable to deposition *δι' ἐρῶν ἐννέα* (Plut. *v. Agis* 11), and compares with it the tradition of Minos' nine-year rule. The ninth year, then, was a critical time for the Cretan sun-king, whether we call him Minos or the Minotaur. At such a crisis it would be incumbent upon him to defend his title against all comers; and it was on the occasion of the third recurring period that Theseus slew the Minotaur (Plut. *v. Thes.* 15, 17).

I have shown that at Olympia (p. 273 ff.) and probably at Dodona (p. 278) the challenge of the priestly-king gave rise to a regular athletic contest. The same thing happened at Cnossus. A hint of it is perhaps conveyed by two Hesychian glosses, *Ταλαιός*: ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ and *Ταλαιδίτης*: ἀγὼν γυμνικός.

But the clearest evidence is a statement of Philochorus (*ap. Plut. v. Thes.* 16, 19) that after the death of Androgeos Minos instituted an athletic contest, the prize awarded being the victims sent from Athens; that at first the successful competitor was Minos' chief general Taurus, a man of cruel temper, who treated the Athenian children harshly and was suspected of undue familiarity with Pasiphae; that, when the king again arrayed the lists, Taurus was expected to win as usual, but was to the delight of all overthrown by Theseus. It needs no Daniel to see that this is a rationalist's account of an *ἐνναετηρικός ἀγὼν* in which Minos himself under the guise of Taurus defended his title to the throne.

Having vanquished the Minotaur, Theseus succeeded to the sun-king's rights; and it is of interest to observe how he acquitted himself. 'Theseus,' says Plutarch (*v. Thes.* 21 Clough), 'in his return from Crete, put in at Delos, and having sacrificed to the god of the island, dedicated to the temple the image of Venus which Ariadne had given him, and danced with the young Athenians a dance that, in memory of him, they say is still preserved among the inhabitants of Delos, consisting in certain measured turnings and returnings, imitative of the windings and twistings of the labyrinth. And this dance, as Dicearchus writes, is called among the Delians, the Crane. This he danced round the Cera-tonian Altar, so-called from its consisting of horns taken from the left side of the head. They say also that he instituted games in Delos, where he was the first that began the custom of giving a palm to the victors.' Plutarch's description of Theseus dancing the labyrinth-dance round the horned altar of the sun-god suggests that a ritual analogous to that of the Minotaur had once existed in Delos, an island which like Crete had borne the name Asteria (Hesych. s. v. Ἀστέρη, *alib.*).

If, as I have tried to prove, Minos was a human king regarded as Zeus incarnate, the famous grave of Zeus on Mt. Jukta becomes intelligible: it was simply the grave of Minos. The schol. Call. *h. Iov.* 8 declares that the original inscription on it was *Μίνως τοῦ Διὸς τάφος* and that the obliteration of the word *Μίνως* led to the popular misconception. This is of course absurd; but the tradition that it was the grave of a man-god may well have lingered on and even have occasioned the speculation of Euhemerus, who asserted that

Zeus in particular had been a former king of Crete (Hoeck *Kreta* iii. 331 ff.). Pythagoras, when he visited Crete, after purification τῇ κεραυνίᾳ λίθῳ and sacrifice and inspection of the throne yearly prepared for Zeus, inscribed on the tomb an epitaph beginning—

ὅδε θανὼν κείται Ζᾶν, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν (Porph. v. *Pyth.* 17). That this Ζᾶν was indeed none other than a priestly-king appears from an important but much misunderstood passage in Macrobius: 'The ancients used to regard as owed to the gods the lives of consecrated men, whom the Greeks call *Zanes*' (*Sat.* 3. 7. 6 animas vero sacratorum hominum, quos zanas¹ Graeci vocant, dis debitas aestimabant). Was not Minos precisely such a *Zan*, enjoying all the privileges of the Cnossian kingship for a nine years' lease, but holding his life as ultimately forfeit to Zeus?

Before leaving the subject I must notice a curious variant of the inscription on the tomb of Zeus. Suid. s.v. Πῆκος records it as—

ἐνθάδε κείται θανὼν Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς.

Creuzer *Symbolik*³ iv. 364 cites from Nicetas *epithet. deor.* (*Meletem.* i. 18) a description of Jupiter as ἥπιος πῆκος and rightly brings him into connexion with the Italian Picus, the Wood-pecker. The common Greek name for this bird was δρυκολάπτης, because it hollowed out its nest in oak-trees (Ael. *hist. an.* 1. 45) and was even credited with being able to fell them (Plut. *qu. Rom.* 21). It was also known as πελεκᾶς because of its axe-like beak, and is still called πελεκάνος (D'Arcy Thompson *Gk. Birds* s.v.). A bird thus connected with the oak and the axe may well have figured in the Cnossian legend of Zeus-Minos, whose metamorphosis into an eagle at Gortyn we have already considered.²

That Minos as oak-king maintained a perpetual fire for the purpose of replenish-

¹ So the MSS. Caelius Rhodiginus *antiq. lect.* xii. 11 read ζᾶνας=ξᾶνας! Liebrecht c. ζῳάνας (*Philologus* xxii. 710). Bernays kept *zanas*, but thought that Macrobius had misconceived the meaning of the *Zanes* at Olympia (*Hermes* 1875 ix. 127 f.).

² The cultus-images of the Italian Picus furnish a close parallel to those of the Cnossian deities found by Mr. Evans. 'He was represented,' says Mr. Marindin (*Class. Dict.* p. 712), 'in a rude and primitive manner as a wooden pillar with a woodpecker on the top of it, but afterwards as a young man with a woodpecker on his head.' See Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 14, who compares the woodpecker on his wooden pillar at Tiora with the dove on the oak at Dodona, and also Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 41.

ing the sun's heat, we are not told. But it is probable. For, on the one hand, a perpetual fire was kept up in the old palace at Cnossus: the oath of the Drerians and Cnossians (Cauer *del.*² 121, *Rhein. Mus.* 1856 x. 393 ff.) began ὁμνῶ τὰν Ἑστίαν τὰν ἐμ πρυτανείῳ καὶ τὸν Δῆνα τὸν Ἀγοραῖον καὶ τὸν Δῆνα τὸν Ταλλαῖον κ.τ.λ. cp. Ennius p. 174 Vahl., who states that Vesta had founded Cnossus. And, on the other hand, Talos (= Zeus Ταλλαῖος) the sun renewed his heat by springing into a fire (Semonid. *ap.* Suid. s.v. Σαρδάριος γέλως, Eust. 1893, 7).

The story that Daedalus contrived the union of Pasiphae with the divine bull by means of a hollow wooden cow (Apollod. 3. 1. 4, *alib.*)³ looks like a reminiscence of an actual ceremony. Thus at Athens the wife of the priestly-king was yearly married to Dionysus in the βουκολεῖον, or Ox-stall (Aristot. *const. Ath.* 3. 5), a name which Wilamowitz (*Aristot. u. Ath.* ii. 42) connects with the bull-form of Dionysus. It is probable that the Cnossian rite was strictly analogous to this. In view of the fact that Cretan mythology often represented the sky-god or sun-god as a bull, it may be conjectured that the queen thus disguised was regarded as a sky-goddess or sun-goddess. We know that in Egypt queens were sometimes buried in cow-shaped sarcophagi of wood to identify them with Hathor the sky-goddess or sun-goddess (Hdt. 2. 129 ff. and Lepsius *Chronol.* i. 309). The Greeks regularly spoke of Hathor as Aphrodite (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1862, 6 ff.); and Aphrodite in many places bore the title Πασιφάη (Lyd. *de mens.* p. 117, 12 Wuensch): e.g. in Thessaly Heracles established a *temenos* of Cythera Πασιφάεσσα beneath an evergreen oak because she had helped him to capture the oxen and daughter of Geryones ([Aristot.] *mir. ausc.* 133, p. 48, 12 Westerm.). All this tends to prove that the Cnossians had a yearly ceremony, at which their queen was solemnly wedded to the sky-god or sun-god. Was this the ἱερός γάμος celebrated annually near Cnossus by means of a mimetic representation (Diod. 5. 72)? The name Daedalus certainly recalls the Daedala of Plataea, a yearly festival at which the oak-tree bride was prepared for her husband Zeus (Frazer *G.B.*² i. 225 f.).

The extant remains of the palace at Phaestus, a town founded by Minos (Strab. 479, Diod. 5. 78), are so similar to those of the palace at Cnossus (*J.H.S.* xxi. 336 ff.

³ Cp. also Clem. Rom. *homil.* 5. 13 Ζεὺς Εὐρώπην διὰ ταύρου συνῆλθεν.

xxii. 387 ff.) that we look with some confidence to find the same cult of an oak-Zeus accompanied by Rhea and Aphrodite there also. Coins of Phaestus (Fig. 8 = *Brit. Mus.*



FIG. 8.

Cat. Gk. Coins Crete pl. 15, 10) represent a youthful god seated in a tree and holding on his knee a cock. The legend ΕΛΧΑΝΟΣ *i.e.* *Ἐλχάνος* is interpreted by the gloss in Hesychius *Ἐλχάνος: ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Κρησίαν*.¹ Mr. Svoronos has pointed out (*Rev. Belge de Num.* 1894, pp. 127, 137) that the tree on these Phaestian coins is identical with the oak on the coins of Gortyn (figs. 1, 2); and his identification is confirmed by the fact that there was a festival called *Ἐλκάνια* at Gortyn (Comparetti *Leggi di Gort.* p. 24, no. 10, 1 *Ἐλκάνι[οις]*). It is commonly supposed that *Velchanos* is etymologically the same word as *Volcanus* (Preller-Jordan³ ii. 148, n. 1, Stolz *Hist. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.* i. 127): if so, this oak-Zeus might be a god of fire or heat. Welcker *Gr. Gött.* ii. 245 explained the cock by the help of a passage in Pausanias, who in describing certain statues dedicated to Zeus at Olympia says (5. 25. 9 Frazer): 'The one with the scutcheon of the cock on the shield is Idomeneus, the descendant of Minos. They say that Idomeneus was descended from the Sun, who was the sire of Pasiphae, and that the cock is sacred to the Sun, and heralds his rising.' If, then, we could establish any connexion between the name *Ἐλχάνος* and the Minoan cock, we should be in a fair way to understand the full meaning of our coin-type. Now a black-figured amphora from Vulci represents the combat between Theseus and the Minotaur in the presence of Minos and nine other persons; along with them are ranged two pairs of large cocks inscribed respectively *Γέλκος* and *Χαιρος*, *Χαιρος* and *Σφεκις* (Roulez *Choix de vases*, pl. 10, Reinach *Rép. vases peints*, ii. 271). Holwerda (*Jahrb.*

¹ Cp. Hesych. *Ἐπιπρότιος: Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ*. Preller-Robert⁴ p. 130 n. 3 connect *ἔπος, ἐπύρται*. On this showing the title means 'Zeus on the tree,' cp. Hesych. *Ἐνδρόπος: παρὰ Πόλλιος Ζεὺς καὶ Διώνυσος ἐν Βαιωτίῃ*.

NO. CLIV. VOL. XVII.

d. Inst. 1890, v. 245) calls this amphora 'Korinthisch-attisch' and states that Roulez's publication of it is 'sehr ungenügend.' I would suggest that *Γέλκος* is a misreading of *Ἐλκος*. However that may be, it is clear that at Phaestus there was a cult of Zeus *Ἐλχάνος*, oak-god and sun-god, whose sacred bird was the cock. The Phaestians worshipped Rhea also, as we know from an inscription (*Mus. ital. d. ant. class.* iii. 735 f.). And, lastly, there was a temple of Aphrodite *Σκορία* in the same town (*etym. mag.* 543, 48 f.): the analogy of Zeus *Σκορίτας* etc. (*infra*) makes it probable that she was the goddess of an oak-grove. In short, the royal cults of Knossus all reappear at Phaestus.

A well-known fresco found in the House of the Tragic Poet at Pompeii (fig. 9 = Wernicke *ant. Denkm.* II. i. pl. 3, 10) shows the marriage of Zeus and Hera. Iris as bridesmaid presents the richly-attired bride to her groom, who receives her *χαῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ*. Behind them is a shrine of Rhea, represented by a column with three lions on its triangular abacus, cymbals and flutes suspended from its shaft, and a tympanum leaning against it. The subject painted by the Hellenistic artist is in fact that described by the Hellenistic poet: Theocrit. 17. 131 ff. 'Thus was brought to fulfilment the sacred wedlock of the immortals, whom Rhea bare to be rulers of Olympus: one couch was strewn for the slumber of Zeus and Hera by Iris, a virgin still, with perfume-brightened hands.' Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 239 ff. has made it probable that the scene of the marriage is laid by the painter in Crete at the foot of Mt. Ida. This suits not only the mountainous landscape and the woods in the background, which might be anywhere, but also the combination of Zeus-worship with Rhea-worship, which is attested for Knossus both by literature (Eur. *Kῳήτες frag.* 475 a Dind., Diod. 5. 65 f.) and by the monuments (*supra*). Now Zeus in the wall-painting is depicted as wearing a wreath of oak-leaves.² Overbeck therefore suggests (*op. cit.* p. 242) that the oak may have been sacred to the Cretan Zeus. His suggestion is, as I have already shown, confirmed by the Gortyn coins and the throne of Minos. It remains to mention the three youthful male figures seated beside Zeus. Welcker (*alte Denkm.* iv. 96 f.) explained them as the Idaean Dactyli; Stephani (*Bull. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersb.* xii. 302, 80) with less probability as personified Meadows; *alii aliter*.

² With the veil here and elsewhere worn by the oak-Zeus I hope to deal on another occasion.

Conceivably they are Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon, the three sons of Zeus by Europa. The point cannot be settled till the nature of the wreaths that they are wearing is determined. Helbig (*die Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* p. 33 f. no. 114) describes them as wreaths of primroses, though the published drawings of them resemble rather wreaths of oak- or laurel-leaves. However that may be, the fresco is of interest as furnishing us with one more trace of the Cretan oak-Zeus.

But it is time to turn from Crete to other localities in which the same cult is found.

Cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. Δωδώνη: καὶ Σουίδας δὲ φησι Φηγηναίου Διὸς ἱερὸν εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι. Now, if the cult of an oak-Zeus came from a district called Σκοτούσσα, it is probable that the σκότος in question was the shadow of an oak or an oak-forest, and not improbable that special sanctity was attached to such a shadow; for the shadow in folklore is often tantamount to the soul (*G.B.*² i. 285 ff.). Pausanias in describing the country about Sparta says (3. 10. 6 Frazer, cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. Σκοτινά): 'The whole country-side is clothed with oak-woods. The name of the place, how-



FIG. 9.

Strabo 329 states on the authority of Suidas the historian that the cult of the Dodonaean Zeus came originally from Thessaly (*ἐκ τῆς περὶ Σκοτούσσαν Πελαγονίας*), that Zeus derived his title Πελασγικός from this circumstance, and that the priestesses of Dodona were descended from the women of Scotussa who accompanied their cult. The scholia on *Il.* 16. 233 add some further points, e.g. 'There are two Dodonas, one in Thessaly, the other in Molossia' (codd. ABDV) and 'The men of Scotussa say that they have a bean-shaped¹ hill fifteen furlongs from Scotussa itself, on which is a sanctuary of Zeus Φηγηναῖος' (codd. BL).

¹ φακόνετρα: the word has escaped the dictionary-makers. There was a town Φάκιον at the foot of an isolated hill close to the Thessalian Phaestus; but that was some twenty-four miles from Scotussa.

ever, Σκοτίρας, is not derived from the thickness of the woods, but from Zeus Σκοτίρας, whose sanctuary we reach by turning out of the road' etc. Scherer in Roscher *lex.* i. 1789, 42 ff. rightly remarks that Pausanias has inverted the facts; Zeus was called after the dark forest, not *vice versa*. Zeus Σκοτίρας thus furnishes a parallel to the Zeus of Σκοτούσσα: in both cases the shadow is that of an oak-wood.² Another parallel is to be found in the phrase ὁ παρὰ τῇ δρύνι σκότος. Plutarch (*quaest. Gr.* 20. 295 f) asks τίς ὁ λεγόμενος ἐν Πιρρήνι παρὰ δρύνι σκότος; and answers that the men of Priene once

² Plut. *de ei ap. Delph.* 2 D mentions a Hades Σκότιος, but without further description; and we have already found Aphrodite Σκοτία at Phaestus, where there was certainly the cult of an oak-Zeus.

fought the men of Miletus in the days of Bias and lost heavily at a place called The Oak: ever afterwards the chief oath of the Priene women was to swear by 'the darkness at The Oak,' because their sons and fathers and husbands had there fallen.¹ Setting aside this obviously aetiological tale, we may fairly argue that, if the oath by the shadow of the oak was the oath used on great occasions (Plut. *loc. cit.* *περὶ τῶν μεγίστων*), the shadow of the oak represented the chief divinity of the place. And, since Priene was an Ionian town, its divinities must have been Pelasgian in their origin. We are thus led back once more to a Pelasgian oak-god who cast a sacred shade, like the Zeus of Scotussa: the comparison is strengthened by the fact that at Priene, as in Thessaly, the women are specially mentioned in connexion with him.

Here, however, an objection may be raised. The men of Priene superintended the ritual of Poseidon Ἐλικώνιος at the Panionian festival on Mt. Mycale: this post of honour was assigned to them on the ground that they were descended from the Ionians of Helice in Achaëa, where Poseidon Ἐλικώνιος had a famous sanctuary (Strab. 384, 639). Their chief divinity, therefore, appears to have been Poseidon rather than Zeus. In answer to this I should reply that Poseidon is but 'Zeus in the water' (p. 175), and that, precisely at the place where we should expect to find Poseidon Ἐλικώνιος in his earliest shape, what we do find is a sacred spring and a cult of Zeus Ἐλικώνιος. For the title Ἐλικώνιος is obviously derived, not from Helice, but as Aristarchus saw (*etym. mag.* 547, 16) from Mt. Helicon across the Gulf. And on Mt. Helicon was a spring and an altar of Zeus Ἐλικώνιος (Hes. *theog.* 4 and schol.). The custom at Priene was to appoint a young man as βασιλεύς to perform the sacrifice at the Panionian festival (Strab. 384). G. F. Schoemann *Griech. Alterth.*⁴ p. 423 regards him as a priestly-king, who reigned for the

time being. He was probably identical with the eponymous magistrate of the Panionian League (*C.I.G.* 2909 *ἐπὶ πρυτάνειος Ἀμύντροπος ἔδοξεν ἰώνων τῇ βουλῇ κ.τ.λ.*); for the title πρύτανις borne by that magistrate was elsewhere borne by priestly-kings, who were set apart πρὸς τὰς θυσίας τὰς κοινὰς and derived their honour ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας (Aristot. *pol.* 8. 8. 1322 b 29). It appears, then, that at Priene there was not only a sacred oak, but also a priestly-king who had charge of the Panionian ἐστία and held office for a very limited period in the flower of his age. What are these but the essentials of the Dodonaean cult?

Another town belonging to the same League had its πρύτανις (Aristot. *pol.* 9. 5. 1305 a 17 f.) or priestly βασιλεύς (Ditt.² 627, 5) and a cult of Poseidon Ἐλικώνιος apparently associated with an oak. 'At Miletus,' says Pausanias (7. 24. 5), 'on the way to the spring of Biblis, there is an altar of Heliconian Poseidon in front of the city.' It will be remembered that the oak figures prominently in the legend of Biblis. Parthenius (*narr. am.* 11. 3—4) tells how she hanged herself ἀπὸ τινος δρῦός, and how the fountain sprang from her tears. Ovid (*met.* 9. 665) says of the spring: 'nomen habet dominae, nigræque sub ilice manat.' And, according to Nicander (*ap. Ant. Lib.* 30) Biblis was turned into a Hamadryad. The cult of Poseidon at Miletus was introduced by Neleus the founder of the town, who raised an altar to him in the Poseidion (Strab. 633). According to the local legend, Neleus had been led to select his site by Artemis Χιτώνη, under whose guidance he found a fine and fruitful oak (δρῦς): out of it he made an image for the goddess, and round it he built Miletus (schol. Call. *h. Iov.* 77, *ep. h. Dian.* 225 ff.). Apollo too at Miletus bore the title Δρύμας (Lyc. 522, Tzetz. *ad loc.*, *ep. Strab.* 321) or Δρύμαος (schol. *vet. ad Lyc.* 522); whence it may be inferred that the oak-god of the Milesians had solar powers.

The cult of an oak-Zeus seems indeed to have been fairly common in Asia Minor. Hesychius has preserved the gloss ἄσκρα δρῦς ἄκαρπος; and Schrader *Preh. Antt.* p. 226 connects ἄσκρα with ἄσπρος, ἄσπρις, a kind of oak. This enables us to fix the character of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος, to whom the Lydians brought their first-fruits (Plut. *mor.* 501 f). He was worshipped at Halicarnassus also, where a herd of goats used to be brought before his temple and the priest would sacrifice the goat that

¹ Zenob. 6. 12 in explaining the proverb τὸ περὶ Δρῦν σκότος cites an abbreviated form of the Priene legend from Aristotle's *Samian Constitution*. We do not know the context in which it there occurred; but an ancient name of Samos was Δρυνούσσα, 'Oak Island' (Heraclid. *de polit.* 10, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σάμος, Hesych. *s. v.* Δάρυσσα and Δρυνούσα, *C.I.G.* 2905, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 31), and the aniconic Hera of the Samians may have been an oaken trunk (Ulrichs *Anfänge d. griech. Künstlergeschichte* p. 29 n. would restore the pentameter Ἦρας καὶ Σάμοι πρίνινον εἶχον ἔδος from Euseb. *prep. ev.* 3. 8 Ἦρας δὲ καὶ Σάμοι ξύλινον εἶχον ἔδος, ὥς φησι Καλλίμαχος κ.τ.λ.)

approached his altar (Apollon. *hist. mir.* p. 107, 20 Westerm.). Imperial coins of that town represent him as a bearded god crowned with rays and standing between two oak-trees, on each of which is a bird (fig. 10 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Caria



FIG. 10.

p. 111, no. 88). The rayed crown implies that Zeus was here regarded as a sun-god; and it is noteworthy that Menander of Laodicea on the Lycus, in his treatise *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* (Walz ix. 329, 26), mentions an Apollo Ἀσκραῖος. Of the birds Head *hist. num.* p. 527 remarks: 'the two birds are clearly oracular.'¹ Not unlike the ritual of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος was that of Zeus at Pedasia in Caria, where a goat used to go before the priest of its own accord; here too the temple was haunted by a couple of ravens, one of which had a white throat ([Aristot.] *mir. ausc.* 137 Westerm.).

Side by side with the cult of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος at Halicarnassus there seems to have been a cult of Aphrodite Ἀσκραία; for the Halicarnassians built at Troezen, their metropolis, a ναὸν . . . Ἀφροδίτης Ἀσκραίας (Paus. 2. 32. 6). When, therefore, we reflect that an ancient Carian town was named Aphrodisias, it becomes of interest to enquire whether its inhabitants likewise worshipped an oak. Now imperial coins of



FIG. 11.



FIG. 12.

that town show the leafless trunk of a tree with three branches. Sometimes the three

¹ Car the eponym of Caria was said to have been the first to draw omens from birds (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 208).

branches rise separately from an enclosure of trellis-work (fig. 11 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Caria p. 35, pl. 6, 8). Sometimes they spring from a single trunk, on either side of which is a naked man wearing a Phrygian cap: the one on the left wields a double axe; the one on the right kneels or runs away, turning his back upon the tree (fig. 12 = *ib.* p. 34, pl. 6, 7). Sometimes a third man is present, who raises both his arms in the air (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 142 f., pl. 9, 29). Sometimes no men are there, but the tree is flanked by two lighted altars (fig. 13 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*



FIG. 13.

Caria p. 35, no. 58). May we not venture to identify this bare trunk with the oak of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος² and Aphrodite the patroness of the town with Aphrodite Ἀσκραία? If so, the resemblance between the cults of Aphrodisias and Dodona is striking. At both places (a) Aphrodite is connected with an oak-Zeus; (b) the tree-god had a triple aspect; (c) a fire was maintained before the sacred tree; (d) there was a ceremony of wood-cutting. When Sulla took the title Epaphroditus and, in obedience to an oracle which promised him sovereign power, dedicated a golden crown and a double axe in the temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias (App. *de bell. civ.* 1. 97), he was unconsciously acting the part of a second Hellus. Attached to this temple was an official called ὁ φοινικεύς, who, to judge from his title, wore a purple robe, 'perhaps as continuing an older office of the style of king or priest' (W. M. Ramsay *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 66 n. 1). Alexander is known to have worn a purple robe as an incarnation of Zeus Ammon (Athen. 537 e). I would therefore suggest that ὁ φοινικεύς was in like manner a human representative of an oak-Zeus, in short the priestly-king of

² Zeus was worshipped at Aphrodisias under the title Zeus Νυκῆδιος (Bull. de corr. hell. 1886 x. 80), i.e. Zeus the god of Νύξ, the old name of the town (Steph. Byz. s. vv. Μεγάλη πόλις and Νύξ). A small altar found in a Turkish cemetery near Aphrodisias and now at Oxford is inscribed Διὸς Ἀσκραίου καὶ Διὸς Μεγίστου (Michel 802).

Aphrodisias. Similarly Anaxenor of Magnesia ad Maeandrum as priest of Zeus *Σωτήριος* was honoured with a purple robe (Strab. 648); and, since Zeus on coins of Magnesia wears a wreath of oak (Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 234), it is probable that Anaxenor too ranked as an oak-king.

Elsewhere in Caria we come across traces of a three-fold Zeus. Strabo 659 says that in or near Mylasa there were three sanctuaries of Zeus, that of Zeus *Ὁσोगός*, that of Zeus *Λαβρανδηνός* or *Στράτιος*, and that of Zeus *Κάριος*. The connexion between Zeus *Ὁσोगός* and Zeus *Λαβρανδηνός* was very close; for an imperial coin of Mylasa shows them standing face to face, the former with a trident, the latter with a double axe in his hand (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Caria* p. 133, no. 37), while another even exhibits a trident and a double axe combined to form a single weapon (*ib.* p. 132, pl. 22, 3). Again, Zeus *Λαβρανδηνός* or *Στράτιος* must have been virtually one with Zeus *Κάριος*; for in the temple near Mylasa Zeus *Λαβρανδηνός* had a sword slung at his side and was worshipped under the names of *Στράτιος* and *Κάριος* (Ael. *hist. an.* 12. 30). In short, the three Zeuses of Mylasa mentioned by Strabo were but three forms of one and the same god. Zeus *Ὁσोगός* with his trident was otherwise called *Ζηνοποσειδών* (see Roscher *Lex. s.v.* 'Osogoa') and was certainly a water-god. Zeus *Λαβρανδηνός* with his double axe was no less certainly a sky-god, and in that capacity sent rain (Ael. *hist. an.* 12. 30). The nature of the third Zeus is unknown. All three have points in common with Zeus *Ἀσκραῖος*. An imperial coin of Mylasa now at Paris shows Zeus *Ὁσोगός* bearing an eagle and a trident and wearing a crown of rays, a trait which, as Drexler pointed out (Roscher *Lex.* iii. 1228, 26), serves to connect him with Zeus *Ἀσκραῖος*. Zeus *Στράτιος* (= *Λαβρανδηνός*) was worshipped in a great grove of sacred plane-trees (Hdt. 5. 119); and we have seen the plane more than once take the place of the oak as the tree of Zeus. Lastly, Zeus *Κάριος* was honoured not only at Mylasa but also by the Lydians and Mysians (Hdt. 1. 171, Strab. 659); and the cult of Zeus *Ἀσκραῖος* was likewise common to Carians and Lydians (*supra*). That the Zeus of Mylasa had at one time a priestly-king, is probable from Strabo's statement that the most illustrious citizens of the town were priests of Zeus *Στράτιος* throughout their life (Strab. 659).¹

¹ A queer tale is told by Aristot. *de part. an.* 3. 10. 673 a 17 ff. about a priest of the Carian Zeus

Of the rites connected with the cult nothing is known: but it is likely that the *ταυροφόνια* of Mylasa (Lebas-Waddington 404) resembled the *βουφόνια* of Athens (Frazer *G.B.* ii. 294 f.) and were celebrated as part of the ritual of Zeus († *Zenoposeidon*).

At Stratonicea Zeus bore the titles *Χρυσαιοεύς* (Strab. 660) or *Χρυσάριος* (C.I.G. 2720, 2721) and *Πανάμωρος* (C.I.G. 2719, 2720, 2721) or *Πανημέριος* (C.I.G. 2715 a, 2716, 2717). Zeus 'of the Golden Sword' was in all likelihood a sky-god like Zeus *Λαβρανδηνός*, who also had a sword (Ael. *hist. an.* 12. 30): cp. *Χρυσάωρ*, *Χρυσάορος*, as epithets of Apollo (Pauly-Wissowa iii. 2484, 57 ff.). Zeus *Πανάμωρος* appears to mean 'the god of broad daylight' (Farnell *Cults* i. 43). The celestial or solar character of Zeus at Stratonicea is further shown by the fact that on some coins of the city his head is radiate (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Caria* p. 153, pl. 24, 4). At Stratonicea too there was a ceremony resembling the *βουφόνια*. An imperial coin (fig. 14 = *Brit. Mus. Cat.*



FIG. 14.

Gk. Coins Caria p. 157, pl. 24, 8) represents the rite taking place before a sacred oak-tree. A bull of its own accord approaches a garlanded altar or platform, on which stands a man wearing a short *chiton*, a *chlamys*, and *endromides*. In his left hand he holds a sceptre; in his right a dagger, which he is about to plunge into the neck of the bull. Other coins of Stratonicea show Zeus himself in precisely the same costume (*ib.* p. 158, pl. 24, 10). Hence I infer that the sceptre-bearing *βουθύτης* was a priestly-king, who acted the part of Zeus himself

Ὁπλόδομος. He was killed and beheaded by some person or persons unknown; but his severed head went on repeating the line *ἐν' ἀνδρὸς ἀνδρα Κερκιδᾶς ἀπέκτεινεν*, 'Cercidas slew a man in single fight,' till the murderer was brought to justice. Does this folk-tale point to a primitive custom of *monomachia* for the post of priestly-king?

before the sacred oak.¹ And since a lighted altar is often represented on the coins before the figure of Zeus (*ib.* p. 151, pl. 24, 1), it may be conjectured that part of the priest's office was the maintenance of a perpetual fire.

The transition from oak to poplar (pp. 181, 273, 407) seems to have occurred at Sardes. On an imperial coin of that town (fig. 15 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Lydia p. 267,



FIG. 15.

pl. 27, 11) we see Zeus *Λύδιος* standing on a pillar or pedestal beneath a poplar-tree. In his right hand he holds an eagle with closed wings (so *Head op. cit.*); in his left, a sceptre. Before him is placed a large stone altar adorned with three figures in relief. Amid the flames can be distinguished the heads of four bulls.

That there was or had been a priestly-king at Priene, Miletus, Aphrodisias, Mylasa, and Stratonicea, appears also from the title *στεφανηφόρος* borne by eponymous magistrates of those towns (Michel 481, 483 Priene; Ditt.² 314, 469 Miletus; *B.C.H.* 1885 ix. 75 Aphrodisias; Michel 472-474, 725 Mylasa; Lebas-Waddington 517, 519, 525 Stratonicea). Prof. Ramsay *op. cit.* p. 56 f. proves that this title originally denoted the representative of a divinity, who as such 'wore the dress of the god.' Thus Apollo *Στεφανηφόρος* at Iasus (Michel 1202) was represented by a personage sometimes called in full *στεφανηφόρος Ἀπόλλωνος*, but more often simply *στεφανηφόρος* (*C.I.G.* 2673 ff., Lebas-Waddington 251 ff.). It follows that the nature of the magistrate's wreath is a reliable clue to the nature of the deity whom he represented: e.g. at Smyrna the *στεφανηφόρος* (Michel 19, 34, Philostr.

¹ Cp. the Lydian plane-tree, which Xerxes honoured with ornaments of gold and a special champion to guard it (*Hdt.* 7. 31, *Ael. var. hist.* 2. 14).

v. soph. 2. 26. 2) wore a wreath of oak (fig. 6) like that of the Great Mother there worshipped (fig. 5).

Now Rhodes too had its eponymous *στεφανηφόρος* (Michel 431), who was priest of the sun-god² (Michel 535, cp.



FIG. 16.

Herwerden *lex. suppl. s.v. στεφανηφόρος*); and Rhodian coins, whose obverse type is a radiate head of Helios, have sometimes on their reverse side a magistrate's name enclosed by a fine oak-wreath (figs. 16, 17 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Caria p. 261, pl. 41, 4). We can but conclude that the sacred tree of the sun-god in Rhodes, his

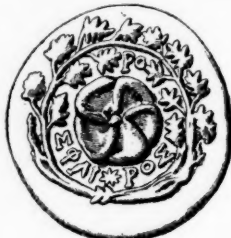


FIG. 17.

favourite island, was the oak, and that the Rhodian *στεφανηφόρος* was the oak-king of the district.

² An inscr. from Rhodes records an eponymous magistrate named Chrysaor (*I. G. Ins.* i. 1204 ἐπὶ Χρυσάορος), and two decrees found at Iasus are dated ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Χρυσάορος (Michel 469) and ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Χρυσάορου (Lebas-Waddington 292) respectively. Probably the title of the local god was often given as a child's name: e.g. at Corycus in Cilicia the chief deity was Hermes and 'names formed from Ἑρμῆς are common there' (*G. F. Hill Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Lycania etc. p. lxvii. n. 4). Still, the possibility remains that the priest who represented the god took the god's name. A list of the priests of Zeus at Corycus (Michel 878) contains with surprising frequency the name Ζᾶς, which can hardly be other than the name of Zeus himself.

This suits what is known of the primitive stratum of Rhodian religion. It is generally admitted that the sun-god Helios was simply a specialized form of Zeus (see Rapp in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1994, 62 ff.), who was worshipped in early days at Amorgus as Zeus Ἥλιος (Röhl² p. 55 no. 28). It is not surprising, therefore, to find the oak as his sacred tree. Probably the Zeus Ἐρδενδρος¹ of the Rhodians (Hesych. s.v. Ἐρδενδρος), like the radiate Zeus Ἀσκραῖος of Halicarnassus, was at once sun-god² and oak-god. Hence Helen the daughter of Zeus (*Od.* 4. 227, 569) was also called the daughter of Helios, and was worshipped in Rhodes as Helen Δενδρίτης because, like Biblis at Miletus, she had hanged herself on an oak (Ptolem. *nov. hist.* 4 p. 189 Westernm., Paus. 3. 19. 10). The other Heliades also were sometimes said to have been turned into oaks (schol. B Eur. *Hipp.* 733 Schw.).³ At the same time both in myth and in ritual Helios is closely related to Poseidon. He married Rhode the daughter of Poseidon (Apollod. 1. 4. 6); and, as Mr. Torr *Rhodes in Anc. Times* p. 73 f. points out, his annual festival was remarkably like that of Poseidon elsewhere. The yearly Rhodian rite consisted in flinging four horses into the sea to serve as the team of the sun-god (Fest. s.v. 'October equus'); and every ninth year the Illyrians cast four horses into the sea for Poseidon Ἰππιος (Paul. Fest. s.v. 'Hippus'). Thus Helios was connected on the one hand with Zeus; on the other, with Poseidon. We need not, however, with Mr. Torr *ib.* p. 74 assume 'some blending of the worships.' The facts are harmonized by the simple conception of the sun-god driving his chariot up the sky from the waters of the sea—a conception familiar enough both in literature and in art.⁴

The same association between an oak-Zeus and a sun-god occurs in Lyc. 536 f.

¹ See p. 413 n. 1. Hyg. *fab.* 139 relates that Amalthea hung the cradle of the infant Jupiter in arbores to prevent Saturn from finding it.

² Hesych. Ἐρδένιος Ζεὺς ἐν Ρόδῳ is obscure. An inser. from Camirus (Ditt.² 609) records the priests of Apollo Ἐρεθίνιος, cp. Hesych. Ἐρεθίνιος: ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Λυκίοις, καὶ ἱερὴν Ἐρεθίμια. There was also a cult of Apollo Ἐρυθρίσιος in Rhodes (Strab. 613).

³ According to the common version they became poplars (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1983, 8 ff.). In the Rhodian Tlepolemeia the wreath was of white poplar (schol. rec. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 141). The poplar was a recognized alternative for the oak (*supra* p. 418).

⁴ Besides, as I have already argued (pp. 175, 177), both τι-τάν and ποτε-δάν appear to be modified forms of Ζεύς.

ὁ Δρύμνιος

δαίμων Προμανθεὺς Αἰθίοψ Γυράψιος.

Δρύμνιος, a title under which Zeus was worshipped in Pamphylia (Tzetz. in Lyc. 536), certainly denotes an oak-god. Προμανθεὺς, his title at Thurii (Tzetz. in Lyc. 537), is probably to be connected with the Sanskrit *pramantha*, 'fire-stick' (E. Kuhn *die Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 18). Αἰθίοψ means 'he of the glowing face,' and is a third title of Zeus in use at Chios (Tzetz. in Lyc. 537, cp. Eustath. 1385, 62 Διὸς ἐπιθετον, αἰθίοψ... ὡς φαεινόν. παρὰ τὸ αἶθω τὸ λάμπω. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ αἰθρη Ζεὺς). Γυράψιος, another name for Zeus among the Chians (Tzetz. *ib.*), may be fairly interpreted 'he of the round wheel' (γυρός and ἄψις): ἄψις is used of the wheel of the sun's chariot as in Eur. *Phaethon* frag. 779 Dind. ἄψιδα σὴν | κάτω διήσει, *Ion.* 87 f. τὴν ἡμερίαν | ἄψιδα, or of the curved course described by the sun as in a fragment of Archestratus *ap.* Athen. 326 B ἂν Φαέθων πυμάτην ἄψιδα διφρένῃ. This remarkable combination of epithets recalls at once the legend of Prometheus, who by the aid of Minerva ascended to heaven and stole fire 'adhibita ferula ad rotam Solis' (Serv. *eccl.* 6. 42): the name Προμηθεὺς cannot, of course, be derived from *pramantha*; it is rather to be connected with *pramātha*, 'theft'; but the form Προμηθεὺς not improbably fixed the termination of Προμανθεὺς, and conversely the *pramantha* appears as the 'ferula' of Prometheus (Kuhn *op. cit.* pp. 18 f., 63). Further, the association of the fire-stick with the wheel, which meets us alike in the titles of the Δρύμνιος δαίμων and in the myth of Prometheus, suggests that the reference is, not to the simplest form of fire-stick—a vertical twirled by hand on a horizontal, but to the more advanced type of a fire-drill such as is used by the Eskimos or the North American Indians. An Iroquois sample figured by the Rev. J. G. Wood *Man and his handiwork*, pp. 420, 422 shows the vertical weighted by means of a large wheel or spindle-whorl and turned by a bow resembling that of an ordinary bow-drill. However that may be, Lycophron certainly brings before us a Pamphylian oak-Zeus regarded as a solar divinity and to that extent at least resembling the Dodonaean Zeus.

Not only the oak but also the mistletoe that grew upon it was appropriate to the sun-god. At Ixiai in Rhodes, a town named after the mistletoe (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἰξίαι), there was a cult of Ἴξιος Ἀπόλλων

(Artemid. *ap. eund.*). We are not expressly told that this mistletoe grew on an oak: but it is probable, both because special virtues were ascribed to oak-mistletoe (Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 11 f.), and because the Rhodians regarded the oak as the sun-god's tree (*supra*). And here it occurs to us that the name Ἰξίων is susceptible of a similar explanation. Ixion was the father of Peirithoüs (Apollod. 1. 8. 2, Strab. 439), whose constant associate was Dryas (*Il.* 1. 263, Hes. *sc.* 179). The relationship thus established between Ἰξίων the Mistletoe and Δρύας the Oak is scarcely fortuitous. Note, however, that according to our oldest authorities Peirithoüs was the son, not of Ixion, but of Zeus himself (*Il.* 2. 741, 14. 317). This at once raises the question whether Ixion was not a by-form of Zeus. Ixion's wife bore the name Δία, a feminine derived from the same root as Ζεύς, Διός: and in *Il.* 14. 317 Zeus admits to Hera that he was enamoured Ἰξιονίης ἀλόχοιο. By a kind of reciprocal attraction Ixion aspired to consort with Hera, and was punished in consequence. 'Zeus in his anger bound Ixion to a winged wheel and sent it spinning through the air. Ixion under the lash repeats the words WE MUST HONOUR OUR BENEFACTORS. Others say that Zeus hurled him into Tartarus. Others again, that the wheel was made of fire' (schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1185). Ixion bound to his blazing wheel and sent spinning through the upper air and under the nether gloom is clearly the sun-god, and has commonly been so understood (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 770, 1 ff.). Hence his connexion with fire: he was called the son of Φλεγύας by Euripides (*Ixion frag.* 428 Dind.), the brother of Φλεγύας by Strabo (442), the son of Αἴρων (Weizsäcker *cj.* Αἴθων) by Pherecydes (*ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 3. 62); and it was by means of a flaming pit thinly covered with logs and dust that he entrapped and slew Eioneus the father of Dia (*ib.*). The whole subject of the solar wheel has been ably handled by M. Gaidoz, who in an interesting series of chapters (*Rev. Archéol.* 1884 ii. 7 ff., 136 ff., 1885 i. 179 ff., 364 ff., ii. 16 ff., 167 ff.) has abundantly proved that the nations of antiquity symbolized the sun as a wheel and has traced the survival of that symbolism through mediaeval into modern times. Familiar classical examples are the wheel on coins of Mesembria, and the 'rota Solis' (De Vit cites Enn. *ap. Isid. origg.* 18. 36. 3, Lucr. 5. 432, 564, Val. Flacc. 3. 559, [Sen.] *Herc. Oet.* 1026, Apul. *met.* 9. 28). It

has not, however, been hitherto observed, though indeed the fact is obvious, that Ἰξίων is derived from ἰξός and that the mistletoe was on Greek soil thus intimately associated with the sun-god. Dr. Frazer has quoted more than one example from central Europe of a fiery wheel trundled down-hill as a sun-charm (*G.B.*² iii. chap. 4, § 2), and has also been led to conjecture 'that the sun's fire was regarded as an emanation of the mistletoe' (*ib.* iii. 455): surely the myth of Ixion clinches his argument.

There are some indications that at Dodona similar beliefs attached to oak-mistletoe. Alexander Polyhistor stated that the ship Argo was constructed of wood from the 'lion'-tree, which he described as a tree like the mistletoe-bearing oak: it could not, he said, be destroyed by water or by fire any more than the mistletoe can. Pliny, who has preserved this remarkable extract (*nat. hist.* 13. 119 quoted on p. 179), adds that he knows of no other reference to the 'lion'-tree. I think we can supply the omission. Ptolemaeus, who records the Rhodian version of the myth of Helen, *viz.* that she was the daughter of Helios and hanged herself on an oak, mentions in the same context that she went by the name of Αεοντή (Ptolem. *nov. hist.* 4 p. 189 Westerm.). Helen was in all probability 'a nymph or goddess of the tree' (Frazer *Paus.* iii. 360, *cp.* Theocr. 18. 43 ff., Paus. 8. 23. 4). I infer that the 'lion'-tree was some species of mistletoe-bearing oak. The wheel too was a symbol understood at Dodona. A small bronze wheel¹ inscribed with a dedication to Aphrodite, here an oak-goddess (pp. 408, 416) paired with Zeus (Serv. *Aen.* 3. 466), was found in the sacred precinct (Carapanos i. 47, 19).²

In Italy also oak-mistletoe occurs in connexion with the solar wheel. At Praeneste Fortuna Primigenia, the eldest daughter of Iupiter (Dessau 3684—3686), had an ancient oracular seat adjoining a temple of Iupiter Arcanus (*C. I. L.* xiv. 2937, 2972, *cp.* R. Peter in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1541, 59 ff.).

¹ M. Gaidoz (*Rev. Archéol.* 1885 i. 180 f.) and M. Bertrand (*La religion des Gaulois* p. 185 ff.) have shown that small metal wheels of this type were beyond doubt solar amulets. One found near Argos and inscribed τῷ Φαράκῳ κ.τ.λ. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* no. 253) may have been dedicated to Helios, who was there worshipped (Paus. 2. 18. 3).

² It is possible that the oracular oak of Dodona was itself a mistletoe-bearing tree. The wind that stirred the foliage was thought to sound most loudly in a mistletoe-bearing oak. For in *Il.* 14. 398 f. οὐτ' ἀνεμος τόσσον γε περὶ δρυὸν ὀψικόμοισιν | ἤπειτα, ὅς τε μάλιστά μεγα βρέμεται χαλεπαίνων Agathocles read δρυὸν ἱεροφόροις (*ap.* Eust. 994, 41).

The famous *sortes Praenestinae* were graven in archaic characters on tablets of oak (Cic. *de div.* 2. 85), on which Wagler observes (*Die Eiche in alter u. neuer Zeit* ii. 35): 'That these oracular lots were of oak wood can hardly be due to accident. The same prophetic power, that clung to the Zeus-tree at Dodona, resided also in the Jupiter-oaks of Rome. The wood of which these *sortes* were made must have come from a Jupiter-oak of this kind.' Fortuna Primigenia was also worshipped as 'vicina Tonanti' (Dessau 3696) on the Capitol at Rome (Plut. *de fort. Rom.* 10), where in ancient days had stood the sacred oak of Iupiter Feretrius (Liv. 1. 10. 5). When, therefore, we hear that there was on the Capitol a shrine of Fortuna Viscata (Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 74, *de fort. Rom.* 10), we are disposed to believe that 'Viscata' had not merely, as Plutarch thought, the metaphorical sense of 'alluring,' but denoted the literal mistletoe that grew on a sacred oak. The 'rota Fortunae' again (for texts see Grimm *D. M.* ii. 722 ff.; for monuments, Roscher *Lex.* i. 1506, 51 ff.) was no metaphor, but an actual cult-utensil, probably a wooden wheel hung up in the temple and consulted as oracular, being made to revolve by means of a rope (hence the rope in Hor. *od.* 3. 10. 10). Under this name and in this form it survived into the middle ages and has been used here and there within living memory. The 'wheel of Fortune' was indeed a common sight in mediaeval churches, where it was made of wood, hung up to the roof, worked with a rope, and regarded as an infallible oracle (Gaidoz in *Rev. Archéol.* 1884 ii. 142 ff.). Moreover, the superstitious practices of the peasantry furnish conclusive proof that it was originally a solar wheel used in the oak-cult. For at Douai on the third Sunday in June, i.e. about Midsummer Day, a large wheel called the *roue de fortune* was carried in procession before a wicker-work giant known as *le grand Gayant* and other figures called *les enfants de Gayant* (*ib.* 1884 ii. 32 ff.). These wicker giants were certainly the Druid divinities, whose colossal images of wicker-work are described by Caes. *b. G.* 6. 16. In other words, they belonged to a solar cult, which involved the worship of the mistletoe-bearing oak (Frazer *G. B.* iii. 319 ff.).

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(To be continued.)

HILL'S COINS OF ANCIENT SICILY.

Coins of Ancient Sicily. By G. F. HILL, M.A. Westminster (Constable and Co.), 1903. Pp. xvi. + 256, with sixteen colotype plates of coins, eighty illustrations in the text, and a map. 21s. net.

ALL students of the history of ancient Sicily will welcome this as a convenient and thoroughly reliable guide to its coinage. The numismatic facts are marshalled with skill and fullness of knowledge, and, in setting them forth, both the historical and the artistic interest are kept carefully in view. The volume does not profess to contain much that is novel, but it contains a great deal that up till now could only be found in the pages of more or less inaccessible monographs. The introductory sketch suffers somewhat from the necessity for extreme compression. On the other hand, a mere synoptic table of events and dates might have proved too thorny a hedge for the general reader. Not the least important feature of the book is the beautiful set of colotype plates. The coins have been selected and arranged with singular judgment, while the execution does credit to the Clarendon Press; the whole is worthy to stand beside that with which it inevitably challenges comparison — the well-known series of eight, appended to the third volume of Holm's *Geschichte Siciliens*. A select bibliography and full indexes add to the value of the work. The type is luxurious, and the cuts in the text show to great advantage. But it is a pity that the book is not lighter to hold in the hand.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

DUEMLER'S KLEINE SCHRIFTEN.

Kleine Schriften. Von FERDINAND DUEMLER. III. Archaeologische Aufsätze. Leipzig. Hirzel. 1901. 12 mk.

THE essays in this volume are of very varying interest, and some of them seem hardly worth reprinting. The first, *Marmorstatue in Beirut*, is well enough for a summary notice, but with time (it was published in 1885) might well have been combined with the other remains of Hellenistic art from that neighbourhood. *De Figuris Plasticis Quibusdam Turenti Repertis* is out of date now, since the discovery of the votive tablets to the Dioscuri has added so much to our knowledge. Duemmler himself, as the editor

points out in a note, saw reason to modify some of his views. Several pieces relate to the criticism or interpretation of vases: with much ingenuity (e.g. in his interpretation of an Eleusinian scene) the author is apt to be rash. Because the word *ἱκρία* is used of the 'boards' of the old theatre, 'der Thespis Karren war eben ein Carrus navalis, *ἱκρία* musste dann natürlich die ganzen scenischen Gerüste, nicht nur die Zuschauerbänke bezeichnet haben.' So in the fish-like eyes of an archaic vase he reads volumes: 'die Augen sollen in Scene I Verlangen und Hoffnung, in Scene II Wonne und Befriedigung ausdrücken.' The best papers in the book are those which describe what the author saw in the Cyclades and Cyprus and other islands, the antiquities from the tombs that is: here the numerous figures are useful. He comes to the conclusion that one race originally inhabited these islands, the Leleges, who were afterwards made serfs by the Carians. Amongst other topics he discusses the origin of Mycenaean culture: this he places directly after the savages, and before the Dipylon period; but the Mycenaeans were not the same as the Achaeans (as is shown e.g. by their death-customs), the latter race being represented by the people of Homer.

W. H. D. R.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Orchomenos.—The finds belonging to the Mycenaean Period include remarkable fragments of wall-paintings, which must once have adorned the palace. Noteworthy is a pattern of wavy lines in bright colours with black and white rosettes interspersed. One painting apparently represents a procession going round a temple, another two leapers, very similar to those found in Crete. So strong indeed is the stylistic resemblance between these wall-paintings and those of Knossos that Prof. Furtwängler is convinced that the paintings at Orchomenos must be the work of Cretan artists. Especially interesting is a large cup which has on the front an inscription in Cretan linear writing similar to that found on clay tablets in Crete. This cup must certainly have been imported from Crete. The various vases found in the Mycenaean stratum at Orchomenos exactly correspond to those discovered at Mycenae. Bronze objects have come to light, but there is no trace of iron.

The pre-Mycenaean Orchomenos, the home of the Minyae, has also yielded important objects. The Minyan civilization has most affinity with that of Northern Greece as illustrated by the discoveries of Tsuntas at Volo. We find similar monochrome vases, obsidian knives, implements of bone, and a scanty use of bronze—in fact the Neolithic stage of culture.

Below the Mycenaean stratum a succession of settlements rested one over the other; in some places there were as many as seven to nine layers, the oldest going back to about 3000 B.C. In many instances a collection of ashes rested between strata. For the Minyan and Mycenaean Periods there is no trace of a city wall.

The two most striking features of the Minyan stone-age culture are the mode of burial and the circular form of the dwelling-houses. The dead were buried within the houses—[For this custom cf. Rohde *Psyche*³ I p. 228]—in the peculiar doubled-up position. This mode of burial prevailed in Mid-Europe at the end of the stone age.¹

Crete.—At Knossos an examination of the Northern extremity of the paved court to the N.W. of the palace has led to the discovery of a double flight of steps with a square platform between them. Similar steps have been discovered at Phaestos, and in both cases their situation makes it probable that they served as seats for the viewing of spectacles such as boxing-matches, etc. A district of the town to the N.E. of the Palace has been excavated and a fine house in a good state of preservation discovered. The walls of this house are for the most part formed of coloured bricks.

The excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission are said to have been extremely successful. It appears that quite a considerable settlement existed at Haghia Triada, not merely a country-house. Among objects found are remains of wall-paintings, bronzes, tablets with Mycenaean writing, and 19 large 'talents' of copper. The latest discoveries include a Mycenaean grave containing gold ornaments, an Egyptian signet with the name of Queen Tii, wife of Amenophis III (1450 B.C.), upon it, and a painted sarcophagus said to date from about 2500 B.C.²

ITALY.

Pompeii.—During November, 1902, the waterworks near the porta Vesuviana were cleared. A square-shaped building was

¹ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* Sept. 12th and 19th, 1903.

² *Ibid.* Aug. 29th, 1903.

found, externally in a good state of preservation, but internally despoiled of all metal and objects of value. The general arrangement of the building recalls the description given by Vitruvius (8. 7. 1.) of a *castellum* for the distribution of water in a city. The purpose of the place is further attested by the presence of rough wall-paintings, depicting a river-god and three nymphs.³

Leporano (Apulia).—At this place (about 10 miles from Tarentum) some early tombs were discovered during agricultural operations in September, 1899. One tomb contained a number of vase fragments which have since been put together. In all, there are eight *kylikes* and one *lekane*. One black-figured *kylix* has round it, on a level with the handles, a band of figures. A seated man is receiving a crown from a winged female. Warriors, female figures, and mounted ephebi also appear in the zone, which is filled up with a series of pseudo-inscriptions. White is used for the flesh of the female figures and purple for parts of the clothing and hair. The vase belongs to the *Kleinmeister* group (second half of the sixth century B.C.) and is signed ΣΑΚΟΝΙΔΕΣ ΕΛΔΑΦΕΝ. Cf. Klein, *Vas. mit Meistersign.*² p. 85. The potter's name is very faint, but apparently reads Καῦλος ἐποίησεν. Another *kylix* is signed on both sides ΟΔΑΙΧΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ; the design represents a quadriga with charioteer and armed warrior. On the other *kylikes* appear animals, a Siren, two ephebi racing, and a design of Herakles, Nessos, and Deianeira.³

Palestrina.—A large mosaic in the temple of Fortuna Primigenia, which had previously been excavated partially, has now been further uncovered. Nine fragments of very elegant workmanship have been found, and on them are represented various fishes swimming in the sea. The mosaic probably belongs to the time of Hadrian. The whole may very likely have represented the port of Alexandria with its famous Pharos.

A fragmentary inscription found at Praeneste reads

D'MAG'COIR
CTATORISALT
DICETR

It is suggested that it refers to the dictator Sulla. The form of the letters would point to a date early in the first century B.C.⁴

F. H. MARSHALL.

³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Jan. 1903.

⁴ *Ibid.* Feb. 1903.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARIES.

Annual of the British School at Athens.
No. viii. 1901-02.

1. A. J. Evans: Excavations at Knossos, 1902. (Three plates; 74 cuts.)

The campaign of 1902, which lasted from February to June, was chiefly occupied with clearing the remainder of the eastern slope of the Palace, which from the pottery found at different levels was shewn to cover the early and middle Minoan periods. Supplementary discoveries were also made in the northern regions of the Palace.

Further investigation round the Room of the Oil-Press shewed that all that part was devoted to the manufacture and storage of oil; large pithoi for holding that commodity were found, with a new form of decoration imitating rope work and studs of metal.

North of the basement area another chamber was opened which contained enamelled plaques from a porcelain mosaic of native work, apparently set in a framework of wood and forming a *λάρναξ*. Many represent houses and other buildings with façades of two or three stories, doors, and windows coloured red, perhaps to indicate parchment. They reproduce buildings of wood and plaster construction, and correspond with, but are not copied from, early Egyptian architecture.

Below the Palace basements in the olive-press area were chambers with a complete system of stratification, down to Neolithic pottery; the finds included fine and varied specimens of Kamaraes ware, a vase of porcelain and gold, and a clay bowl with a gold spray on it. In another early chamber were painted terracotta columns with doves, from a shrine; an early example of pillar-cult.

The exploration of the East-West Corridors was completed, and among the finds was a large hoard of inscribed tablets indicating the use of a decimal system of arithmetic; also a gold pendant in the form of a duck.

Extensive operations in the domestic part of the Palace yielded very interesting results. The Queen's Megaron was shewn to have been restored and re-occupied in the mature Mycenaean period, and on its north wall was brought to light a fresco of a lady dancing; an adjoining chamber contained a portable bath of terracotta, and a private staircase was found leading to the *thalamos* above. A curious mark on most of the blocks in this quarter (a forked distaff) seems to be indicative of the female quarter, or perhaps an emblem of a female deity.

In a secluded room, apparently a treasure-chamber, were found a gold heart-shaped pendant, parts of a bronze casket, and a remarkable series of ivory figures of youths leaping, of marvellous freedom and naturalism. The fresco of the girl-toreador is now completely restored. In a back room of the domestic quarter important discoveries of sealings were made: the subjects were groups of warriors, daemons, animals, etc. South of the quarter were found small closets with thick-plastered walls, containing pottery of the late Minoan period with beautiful floral designs, also some 'flat candlesticks.'

One of the most remarkable features of the excavations was the laying bare of a most elaborate and advanced system of drainage and sanitary contrivances hardly equalled in modern times.

In various parts of the palace interesting finds were made. In the Court of the Sanctuary, a shrine of double axes, with horns of consecration

- and painted terracotta figures of divinities and votaries. In the basement on the south-east, two cups with inscriptions painted in dark brown ink, in a sort of cursive linear script. In the store-rooms of the earlier palace, pottery of a very fine fabric like egg-shell china, with bright colours, imitating metal work. It belongs to the best Minoan period, and the geometrical decoration is influenced by Egypt. Two imports from Egypt are particularly noteworthy for their early date: a fragment of a diorite bowl, and a bowl of liparite (a kind of obsidian unknown in the Aegean), both apparently of the Fourth Dynasty (about 4000-3500 B.C.).
2. R. S. Conway: Pre-Hellenic Inscriptions of Praesos. (Two cuts.)
Gives text of a *Nómos* with transliteration and notes on alphabet; also other fragments throwing light on language of Praesos, which seems to be Indo-European. Also an interesting note on the *-thos* termination.
 3. H. R. Hall: Keftiu and the Peoples of the Sea. (Fifteen cuts.)
Keftiu explained as 'Hinterland' people; not Phoenician, but more like Cretans. The Peoples of the Sea un-Semitic, and apparently from Western Asia Minor.
 4. F. W. Hasluck: Sculptures from Cyzicus. (Three plates.)
Publishes relief of sixth century, a cultus-statue of Kore Soteira (Hellenistic), a *stèle*, and several fragments, including an Ionic volute with rosette in centre.
 5. M. N. Tod: Some unpublished 'Catalogi Paterarum Argentearum.'
Seven examples in Athens Museum, probably from the Acropolis; interesting lists of trades and industries.
 6. R. C. Bosanquet: Excavations at Praesos. I. (Six plates; 36 cuts.)
Tombs and houses excavated, extending from Mycenaean period to Hellenistic Age; finds of pottery, painted *larnakes*, gems, terracottas, and bronzes.
 7. E. S. Forster: Praesos. The Terracottas. (Two plates; seven cuts.)
Finds chiefly of archaic period (seventh to fifth century), including a bust of a god modelled by hand, a series of lions, female figures of Cypriote type, and plaques with draped men carrying offerings.
 8. R. C. Bosanquet: Excavations at Petras. (Five cuts.)
Finds of Kamaraes and Mycenaean wares.
 9. R. C. Bosanquet: Excavations at Palaikastro I. (Six plates; 27 cuts.)
A strictly pre-Hellenic site, with pre-Mycenaean funeral deposits, Kamaraes ware, and Mycenaean pottery. Painted larnakes found by Mr. Marshall in 1901 published and discussed. Reports, lists, rules, etc.
- Jahrbuch des Arch. Instituts**, xviii. (1903), Heft 2.
1. R. Engelmann: The Io-legend. (Plate; ten cuts.)
Shows that up to the time of the appearance of the *Prometheus Vinculus* Io was represented only as a cow (as on a vase at Naples); subsequently she is either a *Βούκερως παρθένος* (cf. *Suppl.* 569 and *Bacchyl.* v. 16, 18) or a cow with horned female head (as on a vase at Boston of early Apulian fabric); the probable reason of the change was the necessity for her speaking on the stage. He gives a list of known representations of Io.
 2. H. von Fritze: Greek sacrificial ritual. (13 cuts.)
Explains (with illustrations from gems and coins) the terms *ἀλπεσθαι* and *καταστρέφειν* in connection with the sacrifice of oxen. For Olympian deities the animal was suspended (*ἀλπεσθαι*); for Chthonian, it was pressed down on the ground (*καταστρέφειν*) as in the well known Nike types.
 3. H. Schöne: Statue of a Roman charioteer in the Vatican. (Two cuts.)
Quotes passages from medical writers to shew that the *fasciae* worn by Roman charioteers were to prevent injury to the ribs.
Anzeiger.—Obituary notices of F. Hettner and M. Fränkel. Finds in 1902 (Greece, Egypt, Russia, North Africa, etc.); work of Limes commission. Work of Archaeological Institute; proceedings of the Berlin Arch. Gesellschaft, and other bodies. Bibliography.
- American Journal of Archaeology**. 2nd Ser. Vol. vii (1903), part 2.
1. S. O. Dickerman: Two archaic inscriptions. (Four plates.)
One from Corinth, the other from Cleonae with peculiar local alphabet, under influence of Argos.
 2. F. W. Shipley: Certain sources of corruption in Latin MSS. II.
Discusses errors of omission, confusion of letters or words, mistakes in numeral signs and abbreviations, and corrections of the Codex Puteanus of Livy.
 3. G. F. Moore: Baetylia.
Argues that *βαίτυλοι* were *ἀλθοὶ ἑμψυχοὶ* with the power of motion (e.g. the stone swallowed by Kronos); the application of the word to holy cones or pillars was a late and incorrect idea, owing to confusion with Beth-el.
Bibliography and summaries of archaeological discussions.

H. B. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxiv. No. 1. 1903.

Limitation of Time by Means of Cases in Epic Sanskrit, E. Washburn Hopkins. *The Order of Conditional Thought* (I), H. C. Nulting. *The I.E. Root Selo-*, Francis A. Wood. *Latin Etymologies*, Edwin W. Fay. Reviews: *Wisowa's*

Religion und Kultus der Römer (Grant Showerman). Reports, Brief Mention, etc.

No. 2. 1903.

Unpublished Letters of Wilhelm Müller, James Taft Hatfield. *The Order of Conditional Thought* (II), H. C. Nulting. *The Imperfect Indicative in Early Latin*, Arthur Leslie Wheeler. *The Vocative in*

Homer and Hesiod, John Adams Scott. *The Vocation in Apollonios*, Basil L. Gildersleeve and C. W. E. Miller. Reviews: *Sidgwick's Eumenides of Aeschylus* (Edward Fitch), *Gardner's Ancient Athens* (Grant Showman), etc. Reports, Brief Mention on the *Persians of Timotheus* (a text and annotations by the Editor). Necrology.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 27, 3. 1903.

P. Foucart, *Athènes et Thasos à la fin du V^e Siècle*. On two inscriptions of Thasos referring to the banishment of certain Thasians for friendship to Athens. P. Foucart, *Πρωτόκοπος*. Maintains the correctness of this word as the title of two Middle comedies. L. Havet, *Cicero*, Imp. Pomp. Critical notes. M. L. Earle, *De Hor. Serm.* i. 1. On ll. 108 foll. W. Vollgraff, *Notes sur la fin et les conséquences de la guerre éolienne. I. La bonne foi de Tite Live. II. A quelle époque Héraclée est-elle sortie de la ligue éolienne.* I. The patriotic partiality of Livy sometimes makes him forget his duty as a historian. II. Héraclée formed part of the Aetolian league after 184 B.C. It left it in 189. It returned to it again soon after, and this was due to the revival at Rome of opinion hostile to Macedonia in 185. P. Tannery, *Cassiodore*, *Variarum*, III. 52.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. xi, 4. 1903.

C. Ritter, *Die Sprachstatistik in Anwendung auf Platon und Goethe*. Considers how far chronological conclusions may be drawn for the writings of Plato and Goethe from the statistics of their language. H. Bohmer-Romundt, *Ein neues Werk des Wulfila?* Concludes that the missive 'of the Church of God of Gotia to the Church of God in Cappadocia' on the martyrdom of St. Sabas is a genuine work of Bishop Ulfilas and, as such, of great value. H. Schwarz, *Lindners Geschichtsphilosophie*. H. Lamer, *Pergamon 1900-1901*. Describes the work at Pergamon after the reports of the German archaeological institute at Athens.

Part 5. C. Ritter, *Die Sprachstatistik in Anwendung auf Platon und Goethe* (concluded). Justifies the use of the statistical method in determining the chronology of writings by the results of applying it to modern authors, the chronological order of whose writings is known. J. Tolkiehn, *Ovids Liebeskunst*. Shows in the third book a number of hasty and superficial transitions. Many unevennesses can be smoothed by transposition. L. Schmidt, *Die Ursachen der Völkerverwanderung*. H. Lamer, Report of the *Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche* at Rome in April. C. Fries, reviews Meissner's *Babylonische Bestandteile in modernen Sagen und Gebräuchen*. J. Ilberg criticizes C. Cichorius on the Phaselus-poem of Catullus whose view is that the lake in which the yacht rests is not Benacus but the lake Apollonia in Bithynia, and that the owner of the yacht was not Catullus but Serenus who is named in the Berne scholia to Verg. Georg. iv. 289.

Part 6. K. Tittel, *Der Palast zu Knossos*. On the discoveries of Evans in Crete. An enquiry is made into the origin of Cretan culture. Its home lies in the East and next in Asia Minor. A Babylonian seal-cylinder, recently discovered, proves a direct intercourse between Crete and Mesopotamia. H. Lattmann, *Die Bedeutung der Modi im Griechischen und Lateinischen*. The question of the original meaning of the moods cannot be decided by Sanscrit. The root-meaning of the conjunctive is the potential out of which the imperative developed itself, that of the optative is the imaginative (*modus fictivus*). M. Schneidewin, *Zur homerischen Psychologie*. On (1) τ 479, (2) β 269 and σ 163, (3) σ 167 foll.

Part 7. B. Wolff-Beckh, *Kaiser Titus und der Jüdische Krieg*, with an addition by P. J. Möbius. The rule of Titus is subjected to unfavourable criticism. The change in his life after his accession is perhaps to be attributed to an illness whose nature is unknown to us. Different conjectures are made as to the one deed of which we know Titus repented. E. Ziebarth, *Die Nachfolger des Cyriacus von Ancona*. The collections of Johannes Marcanova, Felix Felicianus, Timotheus Balbanus, and others are mentioned and biographical notices given. The painter Mantegna belonged to that circle of epigrammatists. In Mantegna's frescoes at Padua some ancient inscriptions are verbally copied. The last epigrammatist of that century was Juvenius Veronensis. B. A. Fritzsche reviews Natorp's *Platons Ideenlehre*.

Part 8. A. Körte, *Hermann Reichs Minus*. A favourable review of the first vol. of Reich's book, which is the most important work on ancient literature since Norden's *Geschichte der antiken Kunstprosa*. J. Geffcken, *Ein französisches Buch über den Kirchenwater Laktanz*. A review of Pichon's *Lactance*. It is in three parts, *Lactance philosophe chrétien*, *Lactance écrivain classique*, and *Lactance historien et pamphlétaire politique*. The first part is much inferior to the other two.

Part 9. B. Schmidt, *Der Selbstmord der Greise von Keos. Ein kulturgeschichtliches Problem*. Gives instances of the custom of suicide among the inhabitants of this island, usually by a draught of hemlock. It was still in vogue in the second cent. A.D. W. Nestle reviews Stickney's *Les sentences dans la poésie grecque d'Homère à Euripide*.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 58, 2. 1903.

H. Usener, *Dreiheit* (continued). Gives examples of duality and of trinity in the theology of the ancients. H. Rabe, *Hermogenes-Handschriften*. M. (Monac. 327) keeps its eminent position among the codd. A. v. Domaszewski, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaiserergeschichte*. On the two inscriptions of Timesithus who governed the empire for the boy Gordian. H. Nissen, *Die Erdmessung des Eratosthenes*. Points out the errors of Eratosthenes. His was a first attempt and necessarily imperfect. The weakest side is the astronomical. The whole problem was much advanced by the labours of Hipparchus. E. Diehl, *Der Timaios des Proklus*. A. v. Mess, *Zur Positionsdehnung vor Muta cum Liquida bei den attischen Dichtern*. A statistical article with special reference to the Tragedians and Kopp's article (in Rh. Mus. 1886) on the *positio debilis* and *correctio Attica* in iambic trimeters. K. Radinger, *Zur griechischen Anthologie*. Critical notes on (1) Leonidas of Alexandria, (2) Marcianus 481, the autograph of Planudes. G. Crönert, *De Palaephati codices Harrisiano*. L. Radermacher, *Φοβος*. In Plut. de Alex. Magn. fort. aut virt. 343 E suggests *φόσφα φόβου* for *φόσφα φοίβου*. L. Radermacher, *Taciti hist.* I. 40. Shows a sentence taken from Xen. Ages. II. 82. A Zimmermann, *Zur Etymologie von Mavors*. F. Buecheler, *Artisten-Wörter*. On the interpretation of the difficult Latin inser. Corpus V. 2787.

Part 3. H. Usener, *Dreiheit* (concluded). Sums up results. Trinity arose out of duality or unity. Agrees with H. Diehl in thinking that the typical value of the number three lay in its being 'the original end-number of primitive mankind.' P. v. Win erfel, *Die Handschriften des Eugeippius und der rhythmische Satzschluss*. Whenever we can test the codd. by rhythmical endings of sentences we are un-

able to give the preference to one class of cod. over the other. Both classes have their errors and caprices. The truth lies in the middle, only an eclectic criticism, taking the good where it finds it, can reach the goal. H. Bornecque, *Wie soll man die Metrischen Klauseln studieren?* Gives three tests for finding what clauses in any particular work are metrical and concludes that clauses are metrical where the writer chooses those words or groups of words that have definite feet and excludes others. A. v. Domaszewski, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte*. On piracy in the Mediterranean under Severus Alexander. P. Jahn, *Die Quellen und Muster des ersten Buchs der Georgica Vergils*. Shows how V. has used his literary models, up to l. 350. Aug. Heisenberg, *Eustathios*. On the Byzantine romance Hysmine and Hysminias composed by Eustathios in the second half of the 12th cent. F. Teichmüller, *Grundgedanke und Disposition von Hor. Sat. I. 1*. After considering ll. 28-40 and examining the theories of various critics, maintains the unity in conception of the satire. F. Buecheler, *Ueber Alkiphron*. Critical notes. F. Jacobi, *Sosiphanes*. There were two tragedians of this name. The elder 357-313 / 2 B.C.; The younger born 306 / 5. F. Jacobi, *Die Beisetzungen Alexanders der Grossen*. W. Heraeus, *Sprachliches aus den Pseudochronischen Horaszscholien*. K. Lohmeyer, *Eine Uevertlieferung der Briefe des jüngeren Plinius in Verona*. V. Szclinski, *Zu den Sprichwörtern der Römer*. E. Ritterling, *Zur Geschichte der leg. II Traiana unter Traian*. On the inscr. from Sidon C. III. 151.

Hermes. Vol. 38, 2. 1903.

J. L. Heiberg, *Paralipomena zu Euklid* (continued). Continues the examination of the manuscripts of Theon. O. Schroeder, *Die enopliischen Strophen Pindars*. Distinguishes the anaklastic form of the difficult and of the easy Ionic measure. The di-iambus and the di-trochee in enoplic Ionics arose from a refined employment of the freedom of Ionic measure in the first or second limb of the enoplic dimetra. P. Jahn, *Eine Prosaquelle Vergils und ihre Umsetzung in Poesie durch den Dichter*. Finds places in Theophrastus that are translated almost word for word by Vergil. For half of the second Georgic V. has used one single source so closely that he has almost confined himself to transposing the prose expression into the poetical. P. Wolters, *ΕΑΑΦΟΖΤΙΚΟΖ*. Considers, in opposition to Dittenberger, that the person of this name in Lysias (13. 19) was so called from being tattooed, which was a Thracian custom. W. Schmidt, *Zu Herons Automaten-theater*. Does not agree with Olivieri that this invention of Heron was not for use but only for theory. H. Schoene, *Zwei Listen chirurgischer Instrumente*. One in Greek from Laur. gr. 74, 2: the other in Latin from Paris. lat. 11219. A. Engelmann, *Über die Handschriften der Silven des Statius*. Maintains, against Vollmer, his opinion that the Matritensis comes from a cod. of the fifteenth century. M. Wellmann, *Zu Galens Schrift περί κράσεως και διυάμεως τῶν ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων*. Maintains that the copier of the parallel traditional text of Galen used a pharmacological compilation in which the text of Galen was worked up with those of Dioscorides and Crateuas. F. Leo, *Coniectanea*. W. Dittenberger, *Zu Plutarch*. On *an virtus doceri possit* p. 440 b. J. Schoene, *Zum Corpus der plutarchischen Blos*. J. Schoene, *Zu Ciceros Briefen*. On *fam. v. 5*. M. Manitius, *Handschriftliches zu Ciceros Oratorien Philippicæ*. J. Mesk, *Die syrische Paralos*. On Xenophon of Ephesus iii. 12. 1.

Part 3. J. L. Heiberg, *Paralipomena zu Euklid* (concluded). It is a noteworthy fact that in the tenth century an Italian had a Greek Euclid and used his small knowledge of Greek to translate a geometry unintelligible to him. W. Crönert, *Die Uevertlieferung des Index Academicorum*. From the Herculanensian Roll No. 1021 with especial reference to Mekler's *Academ. philosophorum Index Herculanensis*. A. Nikitzky, *ΑΝΕΠΙΒΑΣΙΑ*. On the meaning of this word in the Troezenian inscr. Fränkel C.I.G. Pel. i. 752. The writer follows Bernays in taking it to mean 'abolition.' D. Muelder, *Das Kyklopedengedicht der Odyssee*. An elaborate study. The writer gives what he calls the 'old poem' in 140 lines, contracted from ll. 231-490 of the present text. Th. Thalheim, *zu Isaios*. Critical notes. A. Klotz, *Die Uevertlieferung der Silvae des Statius*. Against Engelmann who maintains that the notes of Politian in the exemplar Corsinianum follow a tradition independent of M (Matritensis) in which Cod. Klotz recognizes the single source of the text. What Politian had before him was not a predecessor of Matritensis, and he was in error when he held his cod. to be that sent by Poggio to Italy.

Part 4. A. Reuter, *Beobachtungen zur Technik des Antiphon*. On (1) the structure of the speeches, (2) the elements of the pleading. L. Cohn, *Beiträge zur Textgeschichte und Kritik der Philonischen Schriften*. M. Wellmann, *Demosthenes περί ὀφθαλμῶν*. A comparison of passages from Ps.-Gal. *ιατρῆς*, Aetius of Amida *βιβλία ιατρικῆς*, Anon. *περί ὀφθαλμῶν*, and the fragments of the lost Latin transl. of Demosthenes in Simon of Genoa. P. Stengel, *Βούτς ἔβδμος*. Brings together the various evidence relating to the origin of this proverbial saying. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Apollon*. Connects Apollo in Homer specially with Lycia without fixing definitely the place or the people. A. Schlemm, *Über die Quellen der Plutarchischen Schrift περί ἀοργησίας*. Concludes that on the whole Plutarch has drawn from Stoic sources, in some parts from other sources, while much is his own addition. Whether he has borrowed directly from Chrysippus must remain undecided. E. Bethe, *Die Quellenangaben zu Parthenios und Antoninos Liberalis*. Combats the view of Hercher, hitherto accepted, that these small collections were added as marginal scholia by some grammarian of the third cent. A.D. to both the texts, but offers no decided opinion of his own. U. Wilcken, *Zur Entstehung des Monumentum Ancyranum*. Keeps to the old opinion that the first sketch of the three parts was made at the same time, but the particular year cannot be ascertained. C. Robert, *Zu Aischylos Orestie*. On *Choeph.* 659 foll., 1015 foll., and *Eum.* 1021 foll. M. Holleaux, *De Prytanum Rhodiorum Numero*. The credit of the discovery that these were five in number belongs to Hiller von Gaertringen, not to Selivanov, who hit upon this number by chance and confounded the *πρυτάνεις* with the *ἀρχηγοί*.

Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. Vol. 13, 2. 1903.

W. Heraeus, *Die Sprache der römischen Kinderstube*. Treats of the names for parents and other relatives, food and drink, and other needs of children. E. v. Wölflin, *Das Breviarium des Festus*. II. E. v. Wölflin, *Columella*. On the meaning of *dentes columellares* which are properly 'column'-teeth, what we call eye-teeth. E. Lattes, *Etruskisch-lateinische Wörter und Wortformen der lateinischen Inschriften*. II. E. v. Wölflin, *Memoratu Dignus*. This phrase first occurs in Livy

for the older *memoria dignus*. J. Cornu, *Zum Heptateuchos Cypriani*. E. v. Wölflin, *Sueton und das Monumentum Ancyranum*. On Suetonius' imitation of the Mon. Anc. which Clason has doubted. A. Becker, *Concorporalis*. Gives an ex. from Ps.-Quint. of the substantival use of this word to add to the two exx. from Amm. Marc. given in Georges' dictionary. E. Nestle, *Aratinnula*. O. Hey, *Ein Kapitel aus der lateinischen Bedeutungsgeschichte*. On change of meaning in words through the influence of language. A. Zimmermann, *Die lateinischen Personennamen auf -o, -onis*. An alphabetical list of these names. A. Zimmermann, *Albarus*. C. Weyman, *Zu den Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*. An addition to the late M. Sutphen's 'Collection of Latin proverbs supplementing Otto's Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten.' E. v. Wölflin, *Der Infinitivus historicus im Relativsatz*. In Tac-Germ. 7 unde *feminarum ululatus audiri*, the infin. may be considered as historical. T. is imitating Aen. vi. 557. E. v. Wölflin, *Der Gebrauch des Ablativus absolutus*. Deals with the different uses of the abl. abs. E. Nestle, *Acia*. Erratio. W. M. Lindsay, *Summoenianus*. *Pada*. On these words in Martial. *Pada* should be read in l. 92. 8 where we usually find *braca* after a conl. of Heinisius. P. Wessner, *Squilla, vulgo lola*. A. Miodoński, *Olum Olorum*. In Petr. c. 43. G. Landgraf, *Eine Skablone des histor. Stils (ni . . . forel)*. H. Jordan, *Palabrendus*. G. Landgraf, *Hypodromus*. *Epicastorium*. A. Klotz, *Tubatus*. *Abolofacio*. A. Souter, *Assistentia*. *Tuitio*. J. Cornu, *Apud = cum*. O. Schlutter, *Indrutico*. *Rediviva*. W. Heraeus, *Ein eigentüm. Gebrauch der Proposition cum*. Defends cum in cum M. Titinio *primum* etc. (Liv. 43. 2).

Part 3. G. Funaioli, *Der Lokativ und seine Auflösung*. An exhaustive study of the locative in its various forms and uses, with and without prepositions. K. Mayhoff, *Accessus febrim bei Plinius*. In Plin. N. H. 28, 46 we should read *a decessu febrim* not *accessu* f. E. Lattes, *Etruskisch-lateinische Wörter und Wortformen der lateinischen Inschriften*. III. O. B. Schlutter, *Stimulus*. In Serv. Aen. 8, 138 *stimulus* = "stake." C. Weyman, *Zu den Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (concluded). H. Meltzer, *Cyprianus*. *Koprianus*. Shows that in the fourth century A.D. C was still pronounced hard before y. H. Schuchardt, *Curra = meretrix*. E. v. Wölflin, *Die Adiectiva relativa*. E. v. Wölflin, *Lucania*. E. Nestle, *Anaboldium*. A. Zimmermann, *Die lateinischen Personennamen auf -o, -onis* (continued). E. Nestle, *Arnona mons*. J. E. Church, *inn., Sepultura = sepulcrum*. A. Miodoński, *Sileo verbum facere*. In B. Hesp. 3. 7 ut *sileat verbum facere* there is nothing to alter. W. Heraeus, *Sprachliches aus Märtyrerakten*. P. Maas, *Prosodisches zu convivium*. Maintains that in the Augustan poets the *u* is always long. K. Mayhoff, *Que an Präpositionen angehängt*. E. Nestle, *Adlas*, *Actio*. E. W. Fay, *Lateinisch cena, cersna*. E. v. Wölflin, *Eine aduatio des Hieronymus*. *Enereis* und der *Redner Calvus*. *Minus = non*. This interpretation does away with the supposed difficulty in Catull. 62. 58.

Mnemosyne. Vol. 31, 3. 1903.

H. van Herwerden, *Novae curae Euripideae*. Critical notes with reference to Wecklein's edition. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. On Sull. 5. S. A. Naber, *Observationes criticae ad Demosthenem* (continued). On the de Corona and *Pulsa Legatio*. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. On Sull. 34 and Cimon 16. J. J. Hartman, *Tacitea* (continued). Critical notes. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. On Thesens 6. J. van

Leeuwen J. f., *Ad Timothei Persarum carminis lyrici fragmentum nuper repertum*. Critical notes.

Part 4. J. H. Leopold, *Ad Marci Antonini Commentarios*. Critical notes with reference to Stich's edition. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. On Solon. 30. J. J. Hartman, *Tacitea* (continued). Critical notes. S. A. Naber, *Observationes criticae ad Demosthenem* (continued). On Leptines, Midias, Androtion, Aristocrates, Timocrates, Aristogiton A, Aristogiton B, etc. J. J. Hartman, *Ad Aristophanis Equitum* vs. 526. Read *παῖθων* for *πέδων*.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1903.

1 July. *Claudii Ptolemaei opera*. Vol. I. *Syntaxis mathematica*, ed. J. L. Heiberg. Pars II., libr. vii-xiii (S. Günther), very favourable. G. Peiser, *De invectivis, quae Sallustii et Ciceronis nominibus feruntur* (K. Löschhorn). 'Interesting.' *Persii Satirae*, ed. G. Némethy (R. Helm), favourable. K. Dieterich, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen und neugriechischen Literatur* (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

8 July. *Greek papyri from the Cairo Museum together with papyri of Roman Egypt from American collections*, by E. J. Goodspeed (W. Crönert). H. Krakert, *Herodas in mimiambris quatenus comœdium graecam respiciisse videatur* (G. Wörpel), unfavourable. B. L. Gildersleeve, *Problems in Greek Syntax* (W. Vollbrecht). 'Much to be recommended.' V. de Crescenzo, *Studi su i fonti dell' Eneide* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. E. Gerland, *Noue Quellen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Erbsystems Patras* (J. Dräsehe). Ch. André, *Le latin et le problème de la langue internationale* (O. Weissenfels).

15 July. E. Kemmer, *Die polare Ausdrucksweise in der griechischen Literatur* (M. Schneidewin), favourable. C. Pascal, *L'imitazione di Empedocle nelle metamorfosi di Ovidio* (H. W.), unfavourable. J. Bäumer, *De Posidonio, Megasthene, Apollodoro, M. Annaei Lucani auctoribus* (R. Helm), very favourable.

22 July. *Aeschylus, Die Schutzstehenden*, von N. Wecklein (R. Peppmüller), very favourable. E. Harrison, *Studies in Theognis* (J. Sitzler). 'Has brought forward nothing of value to forward the study of Theognis.' B. Haussoullier, *Études sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion* (K. Regling), favourable. H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*. II. 2 (D. Dettelsen). 'An indispensable book for specialists.' G. Ferrara, *Ops Turrigera* (H. W.). 'Worthy of consideration.' C. Pascal, *Osservazioni sul primo libro di Lucretio* (J. Tolkiehn). B. Romano, *La critica letteraria in Aulo Gellio* (O. Froehde), favourable. F. von Oefele, *Keilschriftmedizin in Parallelen* (L. Messerschmidt), favourable.

29 July. *Aeschylus Sieben gegen Theben*, von N. Wecklein (O. Weissenfels), favourable. *Euripides' Hippolyt*, herausg. von O. Altenburg (K. Busche). 'To be used with caution.' R. C. Flickinger, *The meaning of ἐν τῇ ἀκρῇ in writers of the fourth century* (A. Körte), favourable. W. A. Eckels, *Œre as an index of style in the orators* (J. Sitzler). J. Kaerst, *Die antike Idee der Oekumene* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. G. Hoelscher, *Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit* (H. Willrich), favourable. S. Schlittenbauer, *Die Tendenz von Ciceros orator* (O. Weissenfels). F. Rohde, *Cicero quae de inventione praecepti quatenus acutus sit in orationibus generis iudicialis* (J. Tolkiehn). 'A useful contribution to the history of rhetoric.' R. Pichon, *De sermone amatorio apud Latinos elegiarum scriptores* (K. P. Schulze), favourable on the whole. G. Lombroso, *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (M. Manitius), favourable. *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und*

griechisch-römischen Altertumskunde. Festschrift zu O. Hirschfelds sechzigstem Geburtstage (C. F.).

12 Aug. *Aristotles' Psychology*. Transl. with introd. and notes by W. A. Hammond (A. Döring). 'Shews great care and thoroughness.' C. Pascal, *Studi critici sul poema di Lucrezio* (O. Weissenfels), favourable. G. Goetz, *C. Maecenas* (W. Vollbrecht), favourable. E. Schulze, *Die römischen Grenzanlagen in Deutschland und das Limeskastell Saalburg* (A. Höck), favourable. E. Maass, *Die Tagesgötter in Rom und den Provinzen* (H. Stending). 'Deserves much consideration.' A. Puech, *Recherches sur le discours aux Grecs de Tattien, suivies d'une traduction française du discours avec notes* (J. Dräseke), favourable. H. Gelzer, *Der Patriarchat von Achrída* (F. Hirsch), favourable.

19 Aug. R. Hirzel, *Der Eid* (M. Zielinski), favourable. G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst* (W. H. Koscher), very favourable. O. Wöhlerrmann, *In Sapphus carmen II quaestiones criticae* (K. Löschhorn), favourable. K. Hachtmann, *Die Akropolis von Athen im Zeitalter des Perikles* (A. Höck). 'Deserves recognition.' F. Geyer, *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euböa I. Bis zum peloponnesischen Kriege* (G. Lang). P. Reuter, *De Catonis de agri cultura libri vestigiis apud Graecos* (W. Gemoll), favourable.

2 Sept. *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica*, rec. R. C. Seaton (Jessen), favourable. C. W. Peppier, *Comic terminations in Aristophanes and the comic fragments* (J. Sitzler), favourable. F. Knoke, *Gegenwärtiger Stand der Forschungen über die Römerkriege im nordwestlichen Deutschland* (Ed. Wolff). *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, post C. Tischendorf denuo edd. A. Lipsius et M. Bonnet. II. 2. *Acta Philippi et Acta Thomae*, acc. *Acta Barnabae*, ed. M. Bonnet (R. Raabe), favourable. M. Birt, *Latenvurteil über bildende Kunst bei den Alten* (J. Ziehen), favourable.

9 Sept. *Sophocles, The Antigone*, abridged from Jebb's edition, by E. S. Shuckburgh. *Sophokles' Philoketes*, erkl. von G. H. Müller, 2. Aufl. von R. Hunziker (H. Steinberg), favourable. T. C. Burgess, *Epicletic literature* (C. F.), favourable. M. C. P. Schmidt, *Alphilologische Beiträge*. I. *Horaz-Studien* (O. Weissenfels). H. Kienzle,

Ovidius qua ratione compendium mythologicum ad metamorphoseos componendas adhibuerit (K. P. Schulze). 'A very careful study.'

16 Sept. K. Lehrs, *Kleine Schriften*, herausg. von A. Ludwig (H. Schenkl). V. Buzeskul, *Einleitung in die Geschichte Griechenlands* (J. V. Präsek), favourable on the whole. Chr. Blinkenberg et K. F. Kinch, *Exploration archéologique de Rhodes* (W. Larfeld), very favourable. C. Thulin, *De obliqua oratione apud Thucydidem* (S. Widmann), favourable. E. Knorr, *De Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticorum fontibus quaestiones selectae* (Jessen), favourable. L. Dittmeyer, *Untersuchungen über einige Handschriften und lateinische Übersetzungen der Aristotelischen Tiergeschichte* (K. Bitterauf), very favourable. W. Volkmann, *Die Nekyia im 6. Buche der Aeneide Vergils* (H. Winther).

23 Sept. *Homers Odyssee* erkl. von U. Faesi. I. (α—ζ): 9 ed. by A. Kaegi (P. Cauer). *Thucydides historiae*, rec. C. Hude, II. (libr. V—VIII) ed. min. (S. Widmann). I. M. J. Valetton, *Hierosolyma capta* (H. Drüner), favourable. J. Gaffiot, *Le subjonctif de répétition* (O. Weissenfels). 'A thorough and careful monograph.'

30 Sept. *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, coll. J. ab Arnim II. *Chrysippi fragmenta logica et physica* (Bonhöffer), favourable. W. Crönert, *Die Überlieferung des Index Academicorum* (H. Schenkl). 'A very weighty contribution.' *Philonis Alexandri opera*, edd. L. Cohn et P. Wendland. Vol. IV ed. L. Cohn (R. Asmus), very favourable. H. Belling, *Studien über die Liederbücher des Horatius* (P.). 'Lays every friend of Horace under an obligation.' K. Krumbacher, *Das Problem der neugriechischen Schriftsprache* (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

7 Oct. *Troja und Ilion*, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in der vorhistorischen und historischen Schichten von Ilion 1870—1894 von W. Dörpfeld (A. Körte). 'A work of which German science may be proud.' F. Krause, *De Apollodoris comicis* (F. Jacoby), unfavourable. W. Brandes, *Beiträge zu Ausonius*. III. *Die Periochae Iliadis et Odysseae* (R. E. Ottmann). 'A worthy contribution.'